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Association for
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Two Leaders

Two Policies

GENERAL REFORM ASSOCIATION
FOR ONTARIO

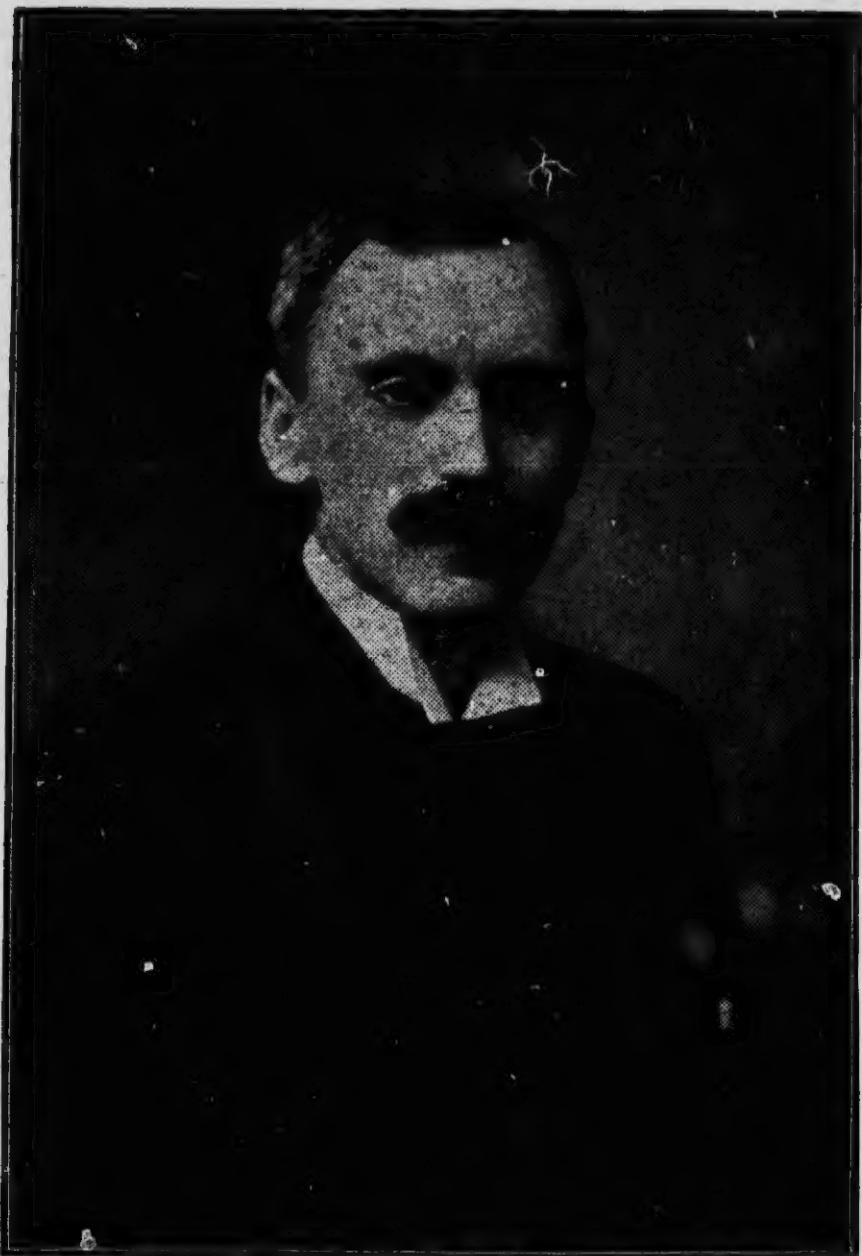
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N. W. ROWELL, K. C.
Leader of the Liberal Party in Ontario

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INTRODUCTION

When Mr. N. W. Rowell, K.C., took the leadership of the Liberal party in the Ontario Legislature one of the questions that was pressing with impelling force upon the public mind was that of temperance reform—the maintenance or abolition of the bar room in the Province of Ontario. An election was pending for the Legislature, and time did not permit of adequate consideration of the matter.

Immediately, however, Mr. Rowell gripped the issue, and inserted three definite planks in his platform: (1) That during the ensuing parliamentary term they would consider the best form of legislation to deal effectively with the evils of the traffic and submit that policy to the country. (2) They would abolish the three-fifths clause in local option contests and substitute a simple majority. (3) During the continuance of the license system they would secure the removal of its administration from political influence.

In the face of criticism for timorousness the Liberals adhered to this position throughout the campaign. Discussing this point at a mass meeting in Massey Hall, Toronto, on November 14, 1911, Mr. Rowell said:—

"The form of legislation is so important, the interests at stake so large, and the result may have such a vital effect upon the well-being of the people of this Province, I am sure you will agree with me that the most careful investigation and deliberate consideration should be given to the solution of so far-reaching and difficult a problem.

"It is our intention to give early consideration to this matter in all its bearings, and the decisions at which we arrive will be laid before the people and the people will have an opportunity of passing judgment upon our policy at the next general election, not in the form of a referendum, but as the policy of the party, upon which we will

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stand or fall, but we shall not fall. The promise I now make is that I shall enter upon the investigation and consideration of the question with the sole desire to reach a conclusion which will best promote the real interests of temperance, and every step taken, will be a step in advance."

Consistent with the promise given at the Massey Hall meeting, the legislature had no sooner assembled than Mr. Rowell called the Liberals into consultation. The temperance situation was viewed from every standpoint, every aspect examined, every phase discussed. A question too important to be disposed of in a hurry, time and thought were not spared. But so soon as a decision had been reached no delay was had in placing it in concrete form before the people of the province.

The Liberal proposal to abolish the bar is a definite, sincere and binding promise. It will be the Liberal policy at the next general election, "not in the form of a referendum, but as the policy of the party upon which we will stand or fall—but we shall not fall."

This policy of the Liberal party forced the hands of the Government, and Sir James Whitney proposed, by way of amendment, legislation to prohibit treating.

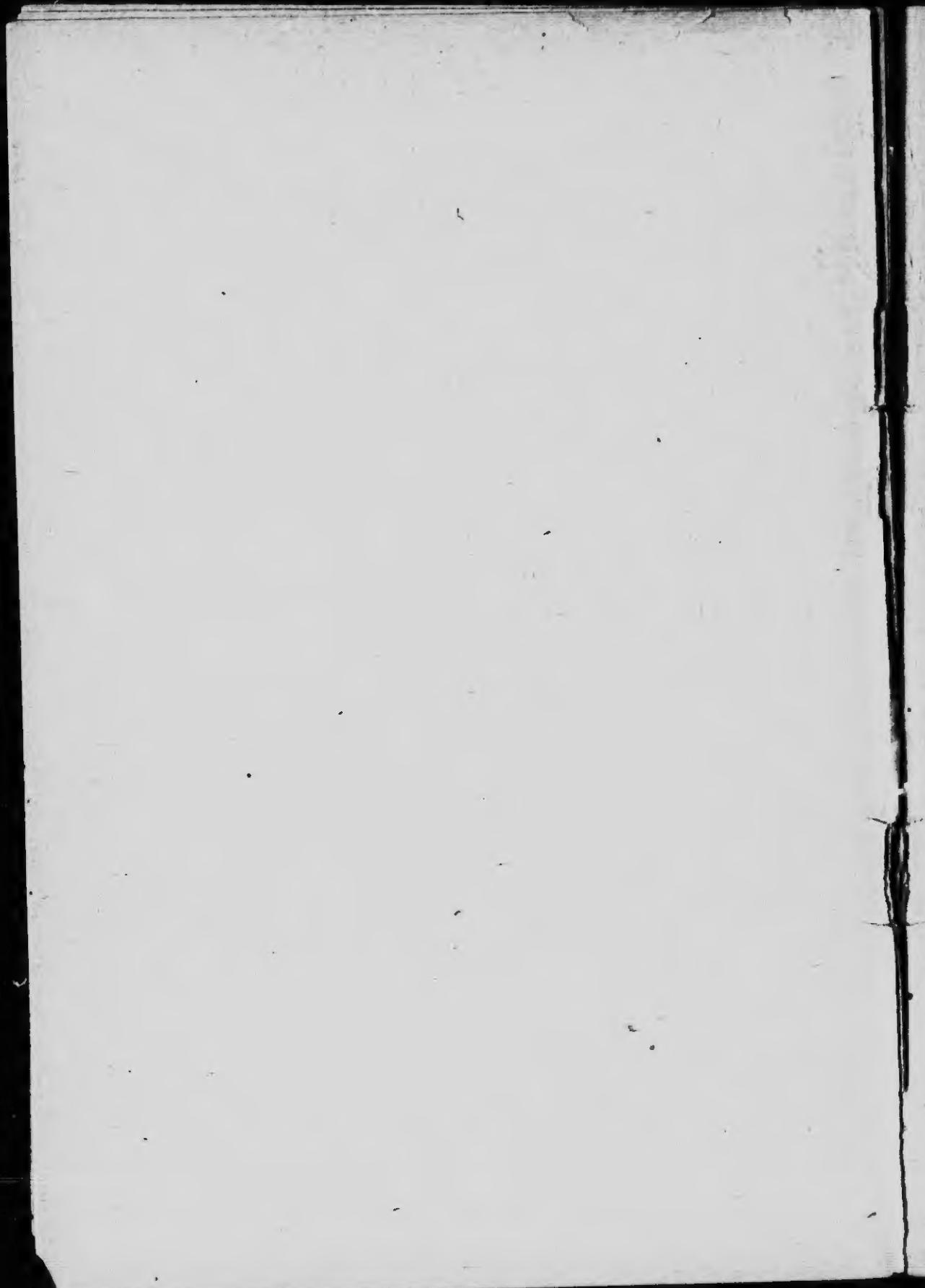
Both political parties in this Province are now committed to the necessity for more advanced temperance legislation. Both parties have now submitted to the Legislature definite proposals embodying their views as to the form this legislation should take.

In order that the electors may have the fullest opportunity to judge fairly between the two leaders and the two policies, the address of Mr. Rowell, introducing his policy to the Legislature; the address of Sir James Whitney in answer, introducing his anti-treating policy, and the address of Mr. Rowell in reply, closing the debate, are published together.

Since the adjournment of the Legislature Mr. Rowell has submitted the Liberal policy direct to the electors in a series of important meetings, held throughout the Province. At the

first of these meetings, held in the City of London on July 1st, Mr. Rowell drew attention to the editorial statements appearing in the Mail and Empire and other influential Conservative papers, to the effect that if he (Mr. Rowell) succeeded in creating a public opinion which demanded the abolition of the bar, Sir James Whitney would enact the necessary legislation, and Mr. Rowell proposed that both political parties should unite to wipe out the curse of the open bar. Mr. Rowell's proposal was so important and may have such far-reaching effects, that it is published herewith.

At the London meeting Mr. Rowell also made a clear and concise statement of the policy of the Liberal party on some of the most urgent social and industrial problems now pressing for solution at the hands of the Provincial Legislature. The temperance question, though of first importance, is but one of a number of problems affecting the well-being of the people which should be dealt with by our Provincial Legislature without delay. In order that the electors may know the position of the Liberal party on these questions, this portion of Mr. Rowell's London address is also published.



ADDRESS BY
MR. N. W. ROWELL, K. C.
(Leader of the Opposition)

Delivered in the Ontario Legislature on April 3rd,
1912, on moving the resolution for the
"Abolition of the Bar."

ABOLITION OF BAR.

Mr. Speaker—In rising to move the resolution which stands in my name, I am conscious of the responsibility I assume in pressing upon the attention of the House and the country a proposal which directly or indirectly affects every home in the province, and will have a very vital bearing upon the social, moral and industrial welfare of the people of this province in the days that lie before us.

One of the significant signs of the times is the growing recognition by the people, not only of this country, but all the progressive countries in the world, of the great evils of the liquor traffic. At the recent International Congress held at The Hague, where representatives of the foremost countries in the world were present to consider the best methods for the suppression of the evils of the opium traffic, the Chairman of the Congress, Bishop Brent, in his closing address to the delegates, named three great evils confronting society, upon the suppression of which he believed all nations should agree. These three evils were: the opium trade, the liquor traffic, and the white slave traffic.

A GROWING CONVICTION.

Looking at the matter as it presents itself to-day, while in some quarters there may not be the same manifestations of enthusiasm as at certain times have marked temperance agitation, I believe that in this province, throughout this Dominion, and in all the English-speaking countries, there is a more intelligent, a deeper-set conviction of the evils of the liquor traffic than ever before; and a more resolute determination on the part of the best citizens to do their utmost to reduce to a minimum if they cannot entirely remove the evils of the traffic.

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1. IMPAIRS INDUSTRIAL EFFICIENCY.

This growing conviction on the part of the public is due to many causes. One is the demand for industrial efficiency. In the United States, in Canada, and in Great Britain, among men engaged in manufacturing enterprises, in charge of great transportation interests, and at the head of important financial institutions, there is a growing conviction that the man who is addicted to strong drink, particularly if on occasions he takes it to excess, is not a safe man to be trusted in any position of high responsibility. (Applause.)

This very important fact has brought about a remarkable change in the attitude of captains of industry towards the liquor traffic. In the 12th Annual Report of the Commission of Labor of the United States for the years 1897 and 1898, the relation of the liquor traffic to industrial efficiency is dealt with. After a most careful investigation, after corresponding with leading manufacturers, the great transportation interests and other large employers of labor, the report states that more than one-half of the total number of establishments reporting, 3,527 out of 6,792, required in certain occupations and under certain circumstances that employees shall not use intoxicating liquors. The two main reasons given for requiring total abstinence were "to guard against accidents" and "because of responsibility carried in such position." An investigation in Canada would, I am sure, establish similar conditions.

2. PRODUCES MORAL AND SOCIAL DEGENERATION.

Another cause is the growing recognition of the menace to society of moral and social degeneration, and the recognition of the fact that the liquor traffic is the parent of much of the moral and social degeneration which afflicts society to-day.

It has long been admitted that the liquor traffic is a prolific cause of crime, poverty and insanity. In recent years, with great care and patience and at considerable expense, Governments have carried on enquiries to see how far they could trace the source of crime, poverty and insanity, and to see how important a factor the liquor traffic has been in producing these forms of degeneration. The members of the house will be interested to know the situation as it appears not only in our own province, but elsewhere.

A Cause of Crime.

In the 12th Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons of the Province of Ontario for the year ending September 30,

1910 (the last report which I have been able to obtain) I find that out of a total of 13,687 persons committed to jail for the year 1910, no fewer than 5,291 or 38.65 per cent. were committed for drunkenness alone, and that 10,352 persons, or about 75.63 per cent. were of intemperate habits. It does not necessarily follow that the full 75 per cent. were there because of intemperance or from the use of strong drink, but it is a significant fact that this percentage were all of intemperate habits. In the report of the Commissioners on the Prison and Reformatory System of Ontario made in 1891, it is pointed out that "intemperance, directly and indirectly, is one of the most fruitful causes of crime, and its effects are wholly evil." Page 104 of this report reads: "Drunkenness does more than any other cause to fill the jails, and it unquestionably does much to recruit the ranks of the criminal classes." Statistics are given to support that view.

The late Sir Oliver Mowat, speaking on this subject many years ago, out of his long experience as Attorney-General, expressed the opinion that the liquor traffic was the cause of 75 per cent. of the crime in this province. It is, of course, exceedingly difficult to arrive at an exact estimate of the extent this traffic causes crime. But we are safe in assuming that it is by far the most important factor in recruiting the criminal ranks, in filling our jails and penitentiaries. (Applause).

I should also refer to the report of the Department of Labor of the State of Massachusetts for 1895. Pages 406 to 408 present the following conclusions: Out of 26,672 convictions for various offences committed during twelve consecutive months, 17,575, or about 65.89 per cent., were convictions for drunkenness, and 675, or 2.46 per cent. for drunkenness in connection with other offences. Hence 18,250 offences, or 68.36 per cent., include drunkenness, either wholly or in part. In 22,514 cases, or 84.41 per cent., of the total number of convictions, the intemperate habits of the offender led to a condition which induced the crime. Here we have a most startling statement, not made from a temperance standpoint, but by a commission appointed to search out the exact facts of the case. Out of the whole number of offenders the number addicted to the use of liquor was 94.24 per cent. This report corroborates the statement I quoted from our Ontario report and substantiates the opinion expressed that the liquor traffic is the most prolific source of crime in this or any other country in which that traffic prevails.

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Fosters Insanity.

Passing from the question of crime, we come to that of insanity. Here, again, it is difficult to trace the exact causes that fill our asylums and hospitals with incurable insane. But investigations have been made with great care, particularly by the Department of Labor in the State of Massachusetts. The report I hold in my hand has been referred to as an authority in this country and elsewhere. It has been compiled with very great care, the greatest pains having been taken to secure accuracy in its figures. Out of the total number of 1,836 cases of insanity found in the state institutions canvassed during twelve consecutive months, there were 671 or 36.55 per cent., in which the sufferer had been addicted to the use of liquor, and in 20.86 per cent. the intemperance of the person led to the insanity. There were many cases in which the inquirers could not trace the cause so as to say whether it was intemperance or some other, but of the cases in which they were able to determine the cause there were 25.43 per cent. in which the intemperate habits of the person were considered to be the cause of the insanity.

When you consider the number of patients crowding our Ontario asylums to-day so that we have not sufficient accommodation for them and are spending hundreds of thousands of dollars for new asylums to provide sufficient places of refuge in which these people may be treated, and consider that the liquor traffic is also filling these asylums to such a substantial percentage as is indicated in this report, then you have another and striking evidence of the physical degeneration produced by the traffic.

Pauperism.

The traffic has an important bearing on pauperism. This phase of the question has also been investigated with great care in the State of Massachusetts with this result: Out of a total of 3,230 paupers found in the state institutions during twelve consecutive months, 2,108 or about 65.26 per cent. were addicted to the use of liquor, and 15.63 per cent. were excessive drinkers. Of the adult paupers—after you eliminate the children—75.47 were addicted to the use of liquor. I need not multiply statistics. Any man knows from practical experience and observation that this condition is produced by intemperance, and those connected with our poor-houses and charitable homes know how a large percentage comes there from intemperate habits. These facts have brought about the

conviction in the public mind that the liquor traffic is one of the greatest causes of social degeneration.

3. ECONOMIC WASTE.

In a country where we are seeking to increase by immigration the number, and at the same time maintain the high character of our citizenship, we are more fully realizing the social and economic value of every good citizen, and are striving to guard against disease, accident and every other cause which imperils or cuts short human life or impairs its efficiency.

We all know something of the inefficiency of the man who is addicted to the use of strong drink, the amount of time lost and the curtailment of his earning capacity through dissipation; the loss to his home and to the community as well, through the shortened period of his life, ending prematurely from the excessive use of strong drink. In Great Britain, where the consumption is five times more per capita than it is in Canada, conditions are much worse. In a report prepared some years ago by an English Parliamentary Committee, it is stated that Great Britain suffers a loss of one-sixth of its earning power from the evil effects of the liquor traffic upon the workers. In other words, out of every six million dollars that would have been earned the country loses one million from the effect of the liquor traffic.

Hon. Geo. E. Foster suggested some years ago that we in Canada lost ten per cent. of our earning power from the effect of the liquor traffic. Sir George W. Ross made the same estimate. Suppose these estimates are greatly in excess, suppose it is not nearly that percentage—say that only five per cent. of our earning capacity is lost. You measure in millions and hundreds of millions the total earning capacity of the people of this country, and think of what even five per cent. of that earning capacity involves. The great social and economic waste produced by the liquor traffic must be acknowledged by all.

4. CONDEMNATION OF SCIENCE.

Medical science has thrown a new flood of light upon the effect of alcoholism upon the human body, and while all medical men are not agreed as to the exact effects of the use of alcohol or as to its necessity, even as medicine, there can be no question as to the trend of medical testimony, particularly in recent years, on the evil effects of alcohol on the hu-

man system. Let me refer to the statements of two or three of the most distinguished members of the medical profession in the Empire.

Sir Victor Horsley says:—

One conclusion emerges from the recent investigation of the whole alcohol question that it is quite impossible to state that any given minimal amount of the drug is harmless to our tissues. A man who desires to use his entire force on behalf of himself or his fellow men can do so best and longest by entirely avoiding alcohol.

The same authority stated, when speaking at Liverpool on the 9th of May, 1910:—

The scientific position was that small quantities of alcohol had an injurious effect upon the intellectual portions of the brain and the blood which nourished the brain. The highest centres of the brain not only initiated, but controlled action, and the fine edge of perception was undoubtedly clouded over by small quantities of alcohol. Everybody admitted that alcohol loosened the tongue—that was to say, it took off the control of the highest centres of the brain.

It is the expressed opinion of Sir William Broadbent, Bart., Physician in Ordinary to His Majesty the King, that:—

Children should never know the taste of any alcoholic drink, and stimulants ought to be absolutely forbidden during school life. In adolescence they impair self-control and are a source of danger. At all ages when taken to relieve feelings of weakness or faintness, serious danger of falling under their influence is at hand.

Sir Thomas Barlow stated:—

The great permanent damage running through the body caused by alcohol may be summed up in one word—degeneration. Degeneration of liver, kidneys, and stomach, of brain and nerves, and, most important of all, degeneration of blood vessels, sometimes picking out one organ or one kind of tissue, sometimes another, varying with the individual idiosyncrasy. . . . It goes without saying that the arguments with regard to excessive drinking are patent on every hand, but what I wish to drive home is that the safe thing to-day is to abstain entirely. We know that in every clime and in every rank of life abstinence has proved to be satisfactory, and, curiously enough, some very interesting evidence in substantiation of this is coming to the front from the insurance offices. Statistics show that even during the hard working period of a man's life he can get along better without any alcoholic stimulants than with them.

Statements equally strong have been made by leaders in the medical profession on this continent, whose opinions I might cite, but time will not permit.

5. A SOCIAL AND MORAL MENACE.

Let us now turn to the moral and religious aspects of this question. The people recognize that the bar and saloon are a public nuisance, a social menace, one of the worst foes of the school and the church, and the school and the church are

against them. The social reformer who is trying, by rousing public sentiment, to alleviate conditions among which he lives, is in rebellion against the open bar and the saloon.

EDUCATIONAL AGENCIES.

I wish to refer briefly to some of the agencies which have been most influential in bringing to the attention of the public the evil effects of the liquor traffic to which I have referred, and in creating that intelligent and deep-seated conviction of these evils which to-day demands expression in advanced legislation.

1. TEMPERANCE SOCIETIES.

Let me first mention the work of the temperance organizations. We may not be able to agree with all that temperance reformers say and think, but I am sure we must all recognize the fact that they are laboring disinterestedly and sincerely for the promotion of what they believe to be the public good. Whatever may be our attitude, our feeling or our convictions in connection with this matter, we must all have the most profound respect for every man and woman who is intelligently and unselfishly seeking to serve his day and generation. I desire to pay a tribute to the splendid work of the temperance organizations of this province, which have been largely influential in creating that state of public opinion which justifies us in moving the resolution that I am now presenting to the House.

2. THE CHURCHES.

More important than the work of temperance organizations has been the work of the churches. They are all advocates of temperance reform. I want to draw attention to the position of some of the churches on this matter. Let me start with the oldest church of all, the Roman Catholic Church. I quote here from a pastoral letter of the Fathers of the First Canadian Plenary Council, which assembled at Quebec in 1909:—

Few are the vices more prolific in destructiveness than it (intemperance) is; none there are that open more surely and more rapidly the way to every abasement, physical, intellectual and moral. Alcohol is a poison whose awful property is to attack at the same time both soul and body, of which it paralyses every energy and dries up every life spring. The gross, insatiable and abnormal appetite that it develops is one of the most degrading and the most hopeless passions known to men.

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Almost everywhere the civil authorities have given their weighty co-operation and have devoted themselves in a truly Christian spirit to the checking of this plague. It has, above all, been realized that the evil should be attacked at its source, namely, that the traffic in intoxicating liquor should be suppressed.

Let me now take the Church of England. At the meeting of the General Synod of the Church of England in Canada, held in Ottawa in 1908, the following resolution was adopted:—

In glancing over the several Provinces of the Dominion, it is manifest that there is a great concensus of opinion concerning the bar under our present licensing system, namely, that it is a public menace, and your committee would urge upon the Synod that it is the duty of every man to endeavor to further the effort to abolish the bar.

Until such time as the bar is abolished it recommends:— That full advantage should be taken when practicable of the adoption and putting into force of Local Option under the present license law.

We have here the clear-cut statement of the General Synod of the Church of England in Canada that the demand of the time is the abolition of the bar.

Coming now to the Methodist Church, I find it has taken a stand for total prohibition. It condemns the liquor traffic as antagonistic to every interest of the Church and State; it condemns the license features by which money is accepted for the protection of an immoral traffic, and until such a time as total prohibition can be obtained its leaders stand for the abolition of the bar and for every other advance calculated to reduce the evils of the liquor traffic.

The Presbyterian Church, at a meeting of the General Assembly, adopted a resolution calling for the curtailment of the traffic by Local Veto, the abolition of the bar-room and the treating system associated therewith, the prohibition of the residue of the traffic by eliminating the elements of private gain from the sale.

The Congregational Church, at an annual convention, resolved that total prohibition of the liquor traffic was the goal to be sought in temperance work, while the Baptist Union of Ontario and Quebec declared that the liquor traffic was the greatest evil of the time, and that the "prohibition of its sale and use would be a greater boon to our country than the triumph of either political party, or any of the issues they now champion."

"We see that all the churches of the country stand together against the bar and the treating system. Why do the churches stand against the bar and the treating system? The mission

of the churches is to uplift the lives of men, and they find that the bar and the liquor traffic are among the greatest barriers in their way. (Applause.)

S. ORGANIZED LABOR.

Many of the foremost leaders of labor have come out against the saloon, not in this land only, but in Great Britain and the United States; they have done much to educate public opinion, particularly among their own associates. No class suffer more from the evil effects of the liquor traffic than the workingmen. Leaders of the labor movement have put themselves on record as unequivocally opposed to the open bar. Mr. John B. Lennon, Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, says: "I am against the saloon without any qualifications. . . . The Unions make every possible effort and use every influence they can command to increase wages. The stream of influence that runs from a saloon continuously tends to decrease wages, for the reason that every cent a union man spends in a saloon is an absolute waste, and consequently his wages are reduced by whatever amount the saloons get from him. The union, therefore, is on one side of this question and the saloon on the other."

Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., one of the most influential labor leaders in the House of Commons in England, who was a member of the Board appointed to settle the recent railway strike, makes this statement: "I have no hesitation in saying that there is no factor which is keeping the workers back more than is to be found in connection with the liquor traffic." Again he says: "The money invested in the liquor traffic is invested to the least possible advantage. It is said that 400,000 persons are engaged in the trade, but the same amount of money, if invested in other employments, would give employment to three millions of people."

"Those best acquainted with the labor movement," said J. Keir Hardie, M.P., "would bear him out that the strongest ally on the side of reaction was intemperance. It made every movement more difficult and tended to thwart all well meant effort."

Rt. Hon. John Burns has declared that "The liquor trade is an unmitigated curse to any community that claims to be Christian or civilized."

"If we could get rid of the drink traffic," says Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P., "the task of the social reformer would be much easier. If we could only get the people to have clear heads we should begin to have clear thinking."

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There is an abundance of evidence to show that the liquor traffic is one of the greatest enemies of labor, and the future success of labor depends upon the workingmen freeing themselves from its power and influence.

We have gone to the United States, we have gone to England for evidence. Let us turn to our own land. One of the foremost representatives of labor in this province is Mr. James Simpson, and we have noticed in the press that he has spoken in a most unqualified way against the bar, so far as it affects the labor interests of this country.

EMPLOYERS OF LABOR.

I have already indicated the attitude of employers of labor, as shown in the report of the Commission of Labor of the United States, and the same attitude was found when the liquor trade was investigated in this country. In Local Option districts to-day large employers of labor bear testimony to the increased earning capacity and efficiency of their men. The bar is the greatest barrier in the way of improving the conditions in slum centres and the congested districts of our large cities, and will continue to be so until it is removed.

5. THE PRESS.

Both the secular and the religious press in this Province have been powerful agencies in educating public opinion on the evils of intemperance and on the importance of sound, sane and practical legislation to remedy these evils. We sometimes fail to appreciate the full debt we owe to the press for the splendid service rendered.

LEGISLATION NEEDED.

It is the duty of the State to grapple, and effectively grapple, with any traffic or business responsible for the great moral, social and industrial evils I have enumerated. It is the duty of the State to reinforce and support by suitable and adequate legislative and administrative measures the work of all these organizations and forces operating for the public good.

PROGRESS MADE.

What is the situation in this province? We have made great progress in temperance reform in Ontario. Away back in 1875 we had a total of 6,185 licenses. In 1877, by the operation of the Crooks' Act, the number was cut down from 6,185 to 3,938. Following the Crooks' Act there were various amend-

ments to our License Act, requiring a larger proportion of population for each license granted, and there have been license reduction campaigns in a number of cities and towns. There has also been the beneficent operation of the Local Option law. The net result is that in 1912 the total number of licenses issued is little over 1,800. That, Mr. Speaker, shows that this Province has made great advance, and in many cases the reduction in the number of licenses has indicated permanent progress and reform in the communities in which the licenses have been wiped out.

LOCAL OPTION RESULTS.

At the present time we have in this province 828 municipalities. Of these 311 have carried Local Option. We have 152 municipalities where Local Option by-laws are not in force but where no licenses are issued. After May 1st we will have 365 municipalities under license. If we add the municipalities in which Local Option is in force to those where no licenses are issued, we have 463 "dry" municipalities as against 365 "wet." Of the 365 in which the licenses are still in force we have 118 in which Local Option votes have been taken and in which a majority were in favor of the Local Option by-laws, but they have failed to go into effect by reason of the three-fifths requirement. If we add the "dry" municipalities to the 118 that have voted by a majority in favor of Local Option, we have 581 either "dry" or which have expressed a desire to be "dry" as against 247 "wet," where either the vote has been adverse to the by-law or no vote so far has been taken. Now that represents the numerical strength of the municipalities for and against. But since many municipalities where the vote has been adverse to the by-law are populous centres, the proportion of the municipalities that I have indicated would not represent that proportion of the total population. The bar still flourishes in most of our cities and towns and many of our rural municipalities. What is the direct tax it makes upon the community?

ENORMOUS COST.

If we figure it out: taking the total consumption of liquor in Canada according to returns furnished by the Dominion Government for the year 1911, we will find that the value of the liquor sold retail in the bars, shops, and clubs of the Dominion for that year amounted to about \$81,000,000. If this province pays its percentage of this total on the basis of population, the liquor bill of this Province amounts to about

\$25,000,000 or \$30,000,000 per year. It is difficult, of course, to arrive at the exact amount. There is another method of arriving at it, although it is also difficult because we have not the exact figures at our disposal, that is, by the returns the Government receives, under the Liquor Act, of the receipts of the bars of the Province. We were informed in the estimates furnished by the Provincial Treasurer in the budget speech that he expects during the coming year to receive from this source \$300,000.

Hon. Mr. Hanna: About \$200,000.

Mr. Rowell: Last year there was \$118,000 for five months. If you take those figures you will get something like \$250,000 or \$300,000 for the year. These figures represent only five per cent. on the receipts of the bars over \$60 per day in Toronto and \$50 per day elsewhere. I am sure the Provincial Secretary has not permitted the amount to be underestimated. There are some hotels in the Province the daily receipts of which do not come up to \$50 or \$60 per day. From these we receive no returns. I imagine if we could get the exact figures we would find that the receipts from the bars would run up to \$20,000,000 per year, and perhaps more. But whatever the figure may be it is only necessary to mention such an amount to see the tremendous expenditure over the bars of the Province in the purchase of liquor, and what return do the men get for this expenditure?

A PRACTICAL DEMONSTRATION.

Now, any man, if he wants to see what the bar is doing in Toronto has only to visit the bars on a Saturday afternoon or on any evening in the week before closing hour. Go into the bars down town, go out into the western part of the city where the workingmen live, and you will find crowding in front of the bars as many as 100, 150, 200 and even 250 men drinking, having what they consider a good time. As the evening goes on, with the treating system in force—on one street and another—after the bar closes, if you watch you will see the number of men who are incapable of going home, and often the wife or child has to help the husband or the father. Visit the bars of Toronto any Saturday afternoon or any evening, and form your own conclusion as to the work the bars are doing. Do not accept my word or any man's word, go and see for yourself and come to your own conclusion.

What is the situation confronting us to-day? I submit, Mr. Speaker, and submit with confidence, to this house, that the rising tide of public sentiment, brought about by all the forces and agencies I have mentioned, has reached the conclusion that the open bar in this province is a public nuisance, a social menace, prejudicial alike to the home, the church and the state, and that this being so, the time has come when the bar should be abolished. (Applause.)

Now some honorable gentleman may say the bar is only a percentage of the traffic. At the present time there are, I believe, 1,530 bar licenses in this Province. There are 220 shop licenses and 53 club licenses. Outside of the city of Toronto there are about 33 club licenses. I mention these figures to show that the bar represents the overwhelming percentage of the traffic. The facts are clearly established that the bar and the treating system are the outstanding evils of the liquor traffic. They produce the worst results, and it is the supreme duty of those entrusted with the work of legislation to entirely remove this evil from our midst.

THE BACK BONE

Some say that if you close the bars you will drive the liquor traffic into the home. I want to quote the words of a man who is in as close touch with the lives of the toiler in this city as is possible for any one interested in social and moral reform work to be--the Rev. Father Minehan. Father Minehan says:—

For my part I do not believe that it will be necessary to go to this extreme (speaking of prohibition). I believe that the spinal column of the liquor curse is the bar-room. Practically every drunkard with whom I have been brought in contact received his initiation in the bar-room and graduated from that seminary of drunkenness.

It may be said that if you close the bar-room a man may bring liquor home and enter upon a debauch in his own house. Yes, he can, but the number of men who will swill at home is, according to my observation, very small, and their number will grow smaller as their nursery, the bar-room, is cut off, for they are mainly bar-room products. Rarely have I seen the police van drive up to the door of a home; whenever I have seen it on its gloomy errand it is generally going towards or coming from some bar-room. When I meet any member of my flock who has been on a spree, I almost invariably hear this confession: "Father, I did not intend to get drunk; pressed me to have a drink with them. I had to order my treat like the rest, and the moment we had two or three rounds of drink we were all ready to sing, 'We won't go home until morning.' And sure enough some of us did not go home until morning, or until well on to noon, for we found ourselves figuring in the daily parade of drunks that interview the police magistrate."

I look upon that testimony of the Rev. Father Minehan with his large experience of social conditions in this city, as most important and valuable in dealing with a matter of this kind.

MANY DIFFICULTIES.

I say it with all seriousness and honesty of purpose, we have entered—I, as leader of this party, have entered—upon the great and difficult task, the task of solving in the best possible way this liquor problem—a problem which perhaps more than any other has presented and still presents great practical difficulties to every Legislative Assembly which attempts to deal with it. All over the world men have sought for the wisest legislative method of dealing with the liquor traffic.

One of the difficulties which confronts us is the question of jurisdiction. At the present time the Province of Ontario, under the decision of the Privy Council, has not the right to prohibit the importation of liquor into the province. It has not the right to prohibit the manufacture of liquor in the province for export out of the province, so that the word prohibition, applied to the legislation this Assembly can enact, is a misnomer.

Another difficulty is the feeling entertained and expressed by many men that legislation dealing with the traffic which necessarily restricts in some respects their liberty of action, is an unjust interference with their rights, and is resented by them accordingly.

A further difficulty is that not only the enactment, but the effective enforcement of the law requires a strong public opinion to support the men who undertake to enact or enforce such a law. The persistent opposition of the trade, supported by almost unlimited financial resources, both to the enactment and the enforcement of legislation, increases the practical difficulties of the situation, but after giving full and careful consideration to these difficulties and others which surround this question, we now submit to the House a policy clearly within the legislative power of this province to enact, a policy so greatly in the public interest, that we feel many men who are not particularly sympathetic towards temperance legislation, will, for the public good, forego their personal feelings and inclinations and support this great movement—a policy which can be effectively enforced, and which public opinion demands and will sustain.

THE POLICY.

Our policy is:—

- (1) The immediate abolition of the bar;
- (2) Such other restrictions upon the residue of the liquor traffic as experience may show to be necessary to limit its operations and effective to remedy its evils;
- (3) The strict enforcement of the law by officials in sympathy with law enforcement, and the elimination of political influence from the administration of the law;
- (4) Regulation and inspection of all houses of public entertainment so as to insure reasonable accommodation for the travelling public.

I. ABOLITION OF THE BAR.

Some question has been raised as to the meaning of this resolution. What does "Abolish the bar" mean? "Abolish the bar" has been used in this province for the past ten years and has a well-accepted significance. By "abolishing the bar" is meant the abolition of all hotel liquor licenses. The words used in this resolution mean the cutting off of the hotel licenses at present issued in this province. They mean the wiping out at one stroke of this form of the retail liquor traffic.

We believe that the strength of the liquor traffic, and largely the evil that flows from it, lies in the bar. The central and cardinal feature, therefore, of our policy is the "Abolition of the Bar." In attacking the bar, we strike the liquor traffic in its most vulnerable point.

A PERMANENT REFORM

I say it with confidence to the members on both sides of this House, that once the bar is abolished in this province it will never be restored. (Applause.) I do not know what the attitude of the members on the Government side of the House will be—I hope they will be sympathetic rather than hostile—but whatever attitude they may adopt, once the bar is abolished no political party in this country will ever take up the restoration of the bar and its re-establishment in the province of Ontario. Once gone it is gone forever. (Applause.)

2. THE RESIDUE

But we do not stop with the "Abolition of the Bar." We go further, and we say the public interests require such other restrictions upon the residue of the liquor traffic as experience may show necessary to limit its operations and effective to remedy its evils.

CLUBS.

The question has been asked "How do you intend to deal with clubs in this residue?" and it has been assumed by some that because clubs have not been specifically mentioned under clause 1 of our resolution, we have decided that club licenses should continue. The clubs constitute a very small fraction of the total liquor traffic. There are some 53 club licenses in this province, as compared with over 1,500 bar licenses. Of these club licenses, 20 are issued in the city of Toronto, and 33 outside. It is said that some of these clubs are purely drinking resorts. No one who believes in abolishing the bar would attempt to justify their continuance. There is no question but they will have to be removed. Many clubs are not of this character. A great deal might be said in favor of leaving such clubs to be dealt with as shops under the Local Option provisions of our law, but I do not see how we can differentiate between different classes of clubs, and my conviction is, and our policy is, that the club licenses must go with the bar licenses, and in any effective policy dealing with the residue of the traffic, club licenses must be abolished. (Applause).

KEEP LOCAL OPTION.

Local Option will then remain in force and continue to operate against the remainder of the residue of the traffic. Any municipality which desires to wipe out the rest of the traffic can do so by a vote of the electors as at the present time. The Local Option law is probably not as broad as it should be. The question has been raised, Does it cover clubs at present? If clubs do not come within that law they should be placed within it at once, quite apart from our policy.

Also with regard to wholesale licenses in Local Option districts, I believe that the law should be broad enough to cover them. It is claimed that it is the policy of the Government not to issue club licenses in districts where Local Option is established. I believe they discourage the granting of wholesale licenses in districts where Local Option has carried. I believe, further, that it has been the policy of this Government, where Local Option has been carried but has been upset on a technicality, not to permit the issue of licenses. For these things we give the Government credit, but they should go further and extend these policies in legislation. In my opinion Local Option should be as broad in its operation against the liquor traffic as the legislative competency of this House will permit.

Dealing further with this question of the residue, I do not for one moment suggest to this House that the abolition of the bar will immediately result in the wiping out of the total liquor traffic that now passes over the bar. It is unreasonable to expect this result. There would be a great effort to secure its diversion into other channels. The exact legislative procedure which must be brought into force to deal effectively with the remainder so as to reduce it to the smallest proportions must depend largely on experience. What I desire to see is that the evil in this province shall be reduced to the smallest possible extent. All practical forms of legislation which public opinion will sustain, I desire to see put into force, so that the evils of the liquor traffic will be effectively restrained and reduced. (Applause).

3. LAW ENFORCEMENT.

On the question of law enforcement I desire to say that the experience and observation of all interested in the control of the liquor traffic is this, that we must have officials in sympathy with law enforcement. There are certain districts in this province to-day where I believe the officials are in entire sympathy with law enforcement, and as a result we have the law pretty well carried out, and there is general satisfaction, and in some Local Option districts this has had the result of almost completely wiping out the evil effects of the liquor traffic. But if there is not sympathy with law enforcement, we have dissatisfaction and failure in our efforts for the suppression of the liquor traffic. Our opinion is that all the officials charged with the administration of a law of this kind should be in sympathy with its enforcement.

POLITICAL INFLUENCE.

One of the greatest difficulties with the proper enforcement of the law to-day is the interference of the liquor traffic in politics. The liquor traffic is one of the most corrupting influences upon political life in the country. We may have our political convictions on one side of the house and the other, but men engaged in the liquor traffic are not interested in these. I am not finding fault with them. I think it is perhaps natural that they should act as they do in view of the situation in which they find themselves. They have no politics, but will stand by and support either political party that will look after their interests. On the other hand there are politicians who, recognizing the position of the traffic, are willing to confer

favors on the men in the traffic in consideration of political support. This condition of affairs should at once and forever cease. I am not now saying one side is worse than the other, but the only solution and the only remedy for this evil is to eliminate all political influence from the administration of the law. We will introduce the legislation necessary for this purpose.

4. INSPECTION OF HOTELS.

The question of regulation and inspection of houses of public entertainment is one that requires earnest consideration in connection with this matter. We all know that in certain municipalities where Local Option has been in force there have been complaints as to the character of the hotel accommodation provided. In other municipalities where Local Option is in force no such complaints are heard. The difference is because of difference in the accommodation furnished, and that arises from a difference in policy on the part of the hotel keepers. Some hotel keepers have in the past devoted their attention largely to their bar trade. There is the profit, they said, and they have not developed the other side of their business. These men are not to-day providing the accommodation the travelling public desire. They are hoping for a day when Local Option will be repealed, and there will be a return to the system under which the bar will be the prolific source of profit. These people are not very much concerned about providing good hotel accommodation.

IMPROVE CONDITIONS.

In other places the hotel men have taken the matter differently. They have recognized that conditions are permanent so far as the bar is concerned and are providing excellent accommodation for the travelling public. In other cases men interested in the success of Local Option have undertaken to provide and have provided most excellent accommodation. If you wipe out the bars entirely so that the hotel keepers recognize that the liquor traffic is forever divorced from hotel keeping, you will find that they will devote themselves to giving the best accommodation they can for the travelling public. I want to say, Mr. Speaker, I have no quarrel with the keeper of a public house, and I do not know why any man should. They are there in the public interest, and it is not reasonable that the hotel keepers should suffer from certain civil disabilities as they now do. This has been due to his

association with the bar, but wipe the bar out of existence, and the hotel keeper moves up and takes his place with the men engaged in every other honorable business.

Much as the hotel keepers may fight against this measure, strongly as they may oppose it, in the days to come, they and their wives and children will rise to bless the day when the bar was wiped out. (Applause.) And I believe that by a proper system of regulation and inspection, by requiring that hotels must maintain a certain standard of comfort and a certain degree of efficiency to meet the needs of the travelling public, you will have throughout this province in the days to come better hotel accommodation for those who require it.

EFFECTS OF POLICY.

What will be the effects of this policy when put into force? I can only take time to enumerate a few.

Most important of all, it will remove from the path of thousands of young men in this province who have not yet learned to drink, the open door of temptation, the public bar.

It will put an end to the treating system. Many who enter the bar-room for one glass meet their companions and associates and under the influence of hospitality drink to excess, and the only effective way to abolish the treating system is to abolish the bar. (Applause).

It will make the home a real home for thousands of wives and children, who to-day because of drunken husbands or parents know not what home really means.

It will remove from the church and the school their greatest obstacle in accomplishing their mission of upbuilding human character.

It will make it possible for the social reformer to enter with new heart upon the work of wiping out the slums.

It will increase the efficiency as well as prolong the life of the toiler.

It will increase the business of the merchants, for the money which is now spent over the bar will be spent largely in the purchase of goods.

It will thereby improve the position of the manufacturer by increasing the demand for manufactured goods, and at the same time it will increase the efficiency of his workers.

The increased demand for manufactured goods will give increased employment for working men.

The public charge for crime, pauperism and insanity will be materially reduced, and these forms of social degeneration greatly diminished.

It will remove from the hotel keeper, the civil disabilities under which they now suffer and give them the same civil and social status as men engaged in other legitimate business enterprises.

By no single act, by no series of acts, which this legislature has power to enact, can we so speedily and so effectively contribute to the general well being and upbuilding of society in this Province as by putting into effect this policy.

GENEROUS ENDORSEMENT.

The manner in which our policy has been received throughout the country is a matter of great gratification to us. Men of both political parties, in all classes of life; men of all shades of opinion, interested in the moral well-being of the people, have given it strong endorsement and support. If time permitted I would have liked to have quoted from newspapers in all parts of the Province that have endorsed our policy. I shall not do so.

We recognize that we will have opposed to us, when election time comes, the best organized, the strongest and most effective of oppositions that can possibly be brought forward—the opposition of the liquor interests. I am not now speaking of opposition from the Government, but of the opposition coming from the liquor interests. I expect that they will have at their disposal unlimited resources of money, that they will fight for their lives and fight vigorously. I am not complaining about that; I am simply stating the difficulties which I believe will confront us. This does not deter or affright us, for I believe "they that be with us are more than they that be with them."

It may be that some of the men in this province who have in the past co-operated with the Liberal party on all measures may not find it possible to co-operate with us on this measure. If this is so, I shall regret it, but we believe the resolution to be right, we believe it to be in the interests of the country, and believing that, we can do naught else than press it upon the attention of the House and the country, in the hope that the House and the country will adopt it.

Mr. Speaker, I did not seek or covet the position I now hold. I did not seek the position of Leader of the Opposition in this House, nor do I seek the position of Prime Minister of this province. To these I have never aspired: not because I did not appreciate the honor and the importance of these positions, but other walks of life appealed to me more than

these. The only inducement I had to accept the position, the only reason why in this House I enter upon this contest, the only reason why I enter upon it in the country is this: I hope in some small way, and in some small measure, to be able to contribute to the betterment of the moral, social and industrial condition of the people of this my native province. I can think of no better way to contribute to these ends than by putting into effect the policy I now submit to this House.

**Address by Sir James Whitney, Premier, in reply
to Mr. Rowell and introducing his amend-
ment to "Abolish Treating"**

(Reprinted from "The Pioneer" of April 26th, 1912).

"Mr. Speaker,—My honorable friend, the leader of the Opposition, has announced his position with regard to the question dealt with and comprised within the resolution which he offers for the consideration of this House. We, perhaps, on this side of the House may be allowed to congratulate him that he has been able at a much earlier date than he anticipated to come to a conclusion. We may be allowed to congratulate him, with his strong feeling and perfervid utterances on this great and serious question, having taken the position that although this was his feeling, yet he could not for several years at least, or some time in the future, come to a conclusion which he could offer to the public, but when he did come to a conclusion he would then say to the public, 'This is my remedy. True it is, you have to suffer the great and terrible undisputed effects of the liquor traffic, but I could not come to a conclusion any sooner, or rather, a certain number of my followers forbade me.' I congratulate him, in all good faith, on the fact that he has burst the bonds which were tied about him, and has come out frankly and announced his position, the position we understand he has held for a quarter of a century, in which he was compelled to renounce or keep quiet about, or they would not be able to force Mr. Whitney into the arms of the liquor traffic.' What an object, Mr. Speaker, to have in view! Running along in parallel lines with the 'greatest good to the greatest number,' and the happiness, here and hereafter, of the people of this province was so hitched up with the determination and pledge that above all other things that jut far away and above the general advantage, this was to be kept in view, the attempt to force Sir James Whitney into the arms of the liquor traffic. What an object lesson in high morality! I verily believe, and say it earnestly—we hear it from his own newspaper and others—

that he is an authority on high morals, and we are not inclined to doubt it, coming from the sources it does.

KNOW OF DANGERS.

"We have listened—and I am not complaining of either the matter or the manner of my friend's speech—we have listened for thirty-five minutes to something utterly unnecessary, which some of us have heard since we were children, and on which none of us need any information—statistics and conclusions as to the evil effects of the drink traffic. Who in this province to-day doubts the evils of the drink traffic, that it produces insanity, and other evils? and the little children of our country, thank God, know it is true, that evils attend the liquor traffic. They need no reminder or proofs by way of statistics, as something to be uttered of which they have no knowledge heretofore.

GOVERNMENT ENDORSED.

"I shall endeavor, Mr. Speaker, to show that it is unnecessary for the people who sit on your right to announce their position, the people of this country know it. Some ten years ago I made public announcement of what that position was. The people of this province have risen up and practically unanimously three times since then said, 'Your attitude is right.' We have endeavored to carry it out. Greater reward we do not ask, greater reward no man could expect, greater reward is not given to men, in public or private life, as a rule, than the commendation of their country. This is agreed, the evil results of the liquor traffic are interesting our people of Ontario. I speak as a man with some authority when I say there is no 'rising tide of public opinion' on this question. For twenty years the tide has been at its height. The people have been aware, not by reason of statistics, but by experience and knowledge, which they have gained, that the results of the liquor traffic and habit have been bad, terribly bad, and that it was not only the right but the duty of every man in his sphere, public or private, to do what he could to lessen and minimize the evils. There is no rising tide. This is no ephemeral rising up of opinion which may last two or three days and then go out of sight. The people of Ontario are thinking people, careful people, and they know that for the last generation, at any rate, they cannot be led away from a proper opinion by any false cries or false attempts to deal with a great moral question. It has been tried and has failed.

PROUD OF THREE-FIFTHS CLAUSE.

"The one act this Government has done, which it prides itself upon most, if possible, and for which it looks forward for the greatest endorsement by history, is the enactment of the three-fifths clause. Within the short space of five years this Government has had the happiness and the honor to have seen, in the first place, practical unanimity, so to speak, in the minds of a great many, of most, of the leading supporters of the temperance question, against the three-fifths clause, and to-day, Sir, there is not a whisper anywhere against it, except by an occasional individual or a newspaper editor who tries to fill up his space by arguing against the three-fifths clause.

"This is a question of gradual growth in the public mind, a question of evolution, development, progress. And puny individuals who endeavor to guide it astray, to stop it, or to get it into channels that suit their own selfish interests, might well copy the example of the English king who ordered the sea to retire as it was coming forward. But as public opinion improves, it crystallizes from time to time with reference to great questions of morals which interest the people of this province.

WHY DELAY?

"It would be almost an offence on my part to spend time in dilating upon the endorsement given the Government by the people of this province three times. My honorable friend, whose attitude, I have no doubt, is sincere, is guilty of something of the nature of forgetfulness. It is beyond me to understand how a man holding opinions with reference to this great question that he does allow himself to go into a general election campaign and to go before the entire people of this country, and had not—I will not say, Sir, the courage—I do not wish to use that word, although I am lost for any other word—to give a pronouncement on this great question, a question with regard to the future happiness and prosperity, advancement and progress of the people of Ontario, that is second to none whatever. This question was allowed to go to the people without a word of comment or suggestion as to what should be done.

"I do not propose to detail what we have done. The people of this province are an intelligent people, a reading people. If a man dropped out of a balloon in any county, and waited till the first man came along, that man would give him a rea-

sonably full account of every public question agitating the public mind. Therefore the people know what is going on. We have a right to rest content, and therefore we do rest content, to the extent of satisfaction arising out of the consciousness of duty well done, and of the appreciation and endorsement of the people of this province, whose servants and whose trustees we are. Therefore we are content, we are proud, that it has been given to us to do the things we have done with reference to this question, which have done good, and will bring untold good if persisted in. But for the public man under British institutions and in a Christian country there is no rest, there can be no rest, it is his duty to be astute in the endeavor to discover additional means from day to day and from year to year of using his ability and the ability of his colleagues in the direction of the general welfare of the people. Therefore we have from time to time considered this great question with reference to the possibility of improving the situation.

PROVINCIAL COMMISSION.

"There is one point on which our attitude has not yet been determined. For considerably over a year we have been considering the desirability of putting the administration of the license law into the hands of a Provincial Commission, or dividing the province into districts with Provincial Commissioners in charge. We are not yet able to come to a conclusion.

"With regard to jurisdiction, alluded to by my honorable friend—there are people with whom it is impossible and useless to argue on anything connected with the liquor traffic, but my honorable friend has shown a disposition to argue the question, and I am pleased to do so—there is nothing to prevent a man from purchasing more or less whiskey and bringing it into this province, or from manufacturing ardent spirits in it. How can any sane person talk about any such thing as prohibition in the Province of Ontario, then? It is utterly impossible, it is making a burlesque of a very serious subject for anybody to talk of this.

EMPHASIZE EVIL.

"Suppose you abolish the bar. I would like to see it out of existence, and should have been very glad if it had never been in existence. But we have to deal with this question as it is, as with any other business question. What would happen? What happened wherever the Scott Act was in force?

They will tell you, who know about it, that the evils arising from the illicit drink traffic, were infinitely worse, and there were more of them than under retail license. I say this knowing it to be true, having participated in elections for the Scott Act, and because professionally I prosecuted people for over a year where the Scott Act was in force. I don't wish to repeat my experiences, or even to think of them, they were so revolting. Therefore before we come to the conclusion that my honorable friend's resolution is wise or advisable, we must consider what the probabilities are likely to be. When he says that to abolish the bar would be a good way to deal with the question, he is speaking of something as to which he has no opportunity of personal knowledge. If he had, it is the last statement he would make here in the face of the public and the honorable members of this House. I shall advise him that it is my unhesitating belief, founded on personal experience from prosecuting under the Scott Act and others, that if you abolish the bar the probabilities are—I am not going to say positively that this will be so, but my belief is—I don't say I know, because it is impossible for any person to know what is in the future—the evil's now existing will be emphasized and increased, and I am not the only one to think so.

THE TREATING SYSTEM.

"Let me read you a statement by Hon. Mr. Blake to my honorable friend's newspaper on Thursday last: 'If one was satisfied that the abolishing of the bar would end the degrading system of treating, then it would be well to pass such legislation as would give this splendid result, but is there any sufficient reason for considering that what is proposed would have this effect? There are so many other open doors that it would appear to me it would simply divert the habit from the bar to some other place, possibly without even the safeguards of the bar-room, and would oblige a never-ending system of further legislation to control or limit the means taken to supply a demand which is not ended, but which simply would not be answered by the means at present furnished. If it is proper to abolish treating, then deal directly with the matter, and make it an offence against the person who gives or receives the treat. If it is thought well to strike at the root of the evil, then do so and don't flirt with the branches.'

"The abolition of the bar will not only not cure or abolish the system of treating, that senseless and ridiculous custom or habit, but it will absolutely encourage it every day in the week. Surely I need not say anything of reprehension as to

that ridiculous, disgusting habit of treating. A fashion or habit lasts a certain time with us, with all of us, and then passes away. I could mention things done, and language used, and actions indulged in, by the best people in this country forty years ago, but to-day people in the same position would be horrified if they were accused of doing or saying anything of the kind. I am merely attempting to show, in my crude way, that development is a matter of evolution, of growth, and those who think they can accelerate it, and those who think they can retard it are both utterly and entirely mistaken. But no doubt the time will come when a break will be made in this ridiculous and senseless habit of treating, and I certainly hope so.

"It is said it would be very difficult to inaugurate or enact legislation that would affect the treating habit. I agree. There is something which it is said is repulsive to the individual who follows his rights as to the liberty of the subject, when he is told that he shall not do this or that, that he shall not give a cigar to a friend or take a drink with him. Those who say this are simply carried away in the atmosphere or glamor of custom, like a person who refuses to look on the other side of the driveway he is passing along. There have been times in the history of nations and of this province, when individuals have been willing to give up perhaps some of their cherished privileges and rights, in order to the general benefit of the community. Then, I ask, would legislation against the treating system be unwarranted? I cannot answer that question in the affirmative. I say, under certain circumstances, such legislation is to be justified. And under certain circumstances I am prepared to stand sponsor for legislation of that kind.

"The most important point which arises in connection with this is not so much whether it is justifiable, though I think I could show that, although it would be unusual and startling. But the point is, not whether it is justifiable, but can you enforce it? There is no question but that it would be a very difficult problem, a very difficult law to enforce. But it is possible that it could be enforced. Suppose it could not be completely enforced—how many of our laws are? But I think it probable that if any legislation were enacted doing away with the treating habit, with regulations by the department which has control of the license system, holding over the hotel keeper the possibility that he would lose his license if he disobeyed the law, it would have the effect of abolishing the treating and rendering more good service than any other measure could.

"In my opinion, as Hon. Mr. Blake says, this question of treating is the root of the whole matter. I say at any rate it would do this—I ask honorable gentlemen on both sides to sympathize with the position I take—although it would not succeed in abolishing forever the system of treating, it would minimize and practically do away with it, especially under the spur which regulation would provide to enforce the law.

THE MORAL EFFECT.

"And just here is where I find myself at the crossroads. Here is the point which has determined me to favor legislation of this kind; it is not the question whether it can be enforced adequately; regulations would enable us to enforce it adequately; but under the favor of Providence, it is my belief that it would in a short time kill and destroy the desire for the habit of treating, and our young men and boys of the present day would grow up so that in five years from now it would never occur to them to enter upon this habit of treating, because they would not see other people doing it. This is the reason, Sir, the great governing reason, which has caused me to say that I would favor legislation of that kind with reference to this question.

"It is as one who learns to swim: he never learns till a certain moment comes when he realizes that he can swim. Just so, one does not observe the working of the people's mind, and is not wise enough to pay attention and watch what is going on, is apt to meet with surprises. I have kept my finger upon the pulse of the people in this matter, and I have observed from time to time what was going on. To-day, I say without fear of successful contradiction, if a poll were taken to-day, there would be a practically unanimous vote in favor of destroying the treating system. If the two questions were put up, abolish the bar, and abolish the treating habit, an infinitely larger number would choose abolition of the treating habit.

AN INTERESTED VIEW.

"Further, within the last forty-eight hours it has been communicated to me by more than one man who is engaged to-day in the wholesale manufacture of ardent spirits in this province and in the retail sale of ardent spirits, that they hope distinctly that legislation of this kind will be undertaken, because they want to see the treating habit destroyed. The public mind of this province has declared itself, and is a unit

practically in favor of the change I have indicated. I believe I correctly interpret the public view: abolition of the bar alone will not suffice to correct the evils, but intensify them, so long as people are not prevented from purchasing in shops licensed by this province, and as long as that opportunity is open to them, we believe the people, warned by the experience of the past, will not favor abolition of the bar as against abolition of the ridiculous and senseless habit of treating.

"Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I move this amendment, seconded by Hon. Mr. Foy: 'That all the words in the motion after "That" be struck out, and the following substituted therefor: 'This House recognizes the duty cast upon it to minimize as far as possible the evil effects of the drink traffic by wise restrictions upon the traffic in intoxicating liquors; this House also recognizes that, having regard to the decisions of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council as to the respective jurisdiction of the Dominion and of the Provinces, it is impossible for the people of the Province through its Legislature to abolish or control the manufacture within or the importation into the Province of intoxicating liquors; that the treating habit is now almost universally recognized as the most powerful factor in the evil results of the said traffic and habit, and no good object would be served by simply diverting the habit from the bar to some other place. That in the opinion of this House legislation to prevent and put a stop to the said treating habit should be enacted, and, if necessary, supplemented by regulations under which retail licenses are granted and sold.'"

The amendment moved by Sir James Whitney was followed by a further amendment moved by the member for West Elgin, congratulating the Government on its administration of the license laws. After a full discussion the debate was closed by Mr. Rowell, as the mover of the original motion.

**ADDRESS BY
MR. N. W. ROWELL, K.C.
CLOSING THE DEBATE.**

MR. N. W. ROWELL, K.C.

Mr. Speaker.—The Government in procuring the honorable member for West Elgin to move an amendment to the amendment has, under the rules of the House, precluded any further resolution by way of amendment or otherwise, and has thus prevented a straight vote on our policy.

Sir James Whitney: You have our sympathy.

Mr. Rowell: We do not require it. The members of the House of course understand the situation and the people of the province will also understand it. They will not be misled by the form, but will look to the substance and will realize that the great question before the House and the country is "the abolition of the bar."

Mr. Speaker, if any member of this House doubted the possibility of sudden conversion, that doubt must have been dispelled by the announcement of the Prime Minister this afternoon. In fact one could almost see the process in operation as the Prime Minister unfolded his views to the House.

A BELATED ANNOUNCEMENT.

The Prime Minister has made his position perfectly clear on at least three points: (1) He admits the bar is an evil, but is unequivocally opposed to its abolition. He has told us, in his opinion, if the bar is abolished the evils of the liquor traffic will be emphasized and increased. It is at least gratifying to know where the Prime Minister stands on this vital issue. (2) That the evils of the liquor traffic are so serious, so widespread and so well known that it is idle to spend time enumerating them; that even children in the schools are fully conversant with them; and (3) that there is no rising tide of public sentiment on this question. According to the Prime Minister, the tide has been at the flood for the last twenty years. If, then, without any change whatever in the state of public sentiment, the abolition of the treating system is a measure of temperance and moral reform now urgently needed, the Prime Minister's advocacy of it must be at least twenty years overdue.

The Prime Minister tells us it is unnecessary for the members on the Government side to announce their policy—that he stated the position and policy ten years ago—it is well known, and the people of the country know it. Was the abolition of the treating system part of his policy? Everybody knows it was not. Last autumn the Prime Minister was searching for an excuse, if not a justification, for bringing on the elections a year before the time. If he really believed this measure was needed, why did he not announce it, as he seeks to do to-day, as a great measure of temperance reform, and take the judgment of the country upon it? It was only the other day the Prime Minister was twitting me with not having brought down our temperance policy, and took occasion to say that everyone knew where the Government stood—their policy was well known, it had been repeatedly declared, and repeatedly approved by the people. Evidently, up to that time, it had never occurred to the Prime Minister either that a measure abolishing the treating system was necessary or that he could be induced to advocate such a policy.

THE McNAUGHT BILL.

The Prime Minister will recall that in the year 1906 the honorable member for North Toronto (Mr. McNaught) introduced a Bill in this House to abolish the treating system. On that occasion, while the Prime Minister deprecated the evils of treating, he insisted on the honorable member withdrawing his Bill, and Mr. McNaught, with characteristic submissiveness, did so. After this rebuff, and in view of the Prime Minister's attitude, the honorable member for North Toronto has apparently lacked either the courage or the inclination to introduce it again, and nothing further has been heard of the anti-treating Bill.

It is very interesting, however, to note the grounds upon which the Prime Minister objected to this anti-treating Bill. Let me summarize them from the reports of the discussion at the time:

(1) He feared the Bill was unconstitutional.

Sir James Whitney: Hear, hear!

(2) Public opinion would not sustain such a measure.

Sir James Whitney: Hear, hear!

(3) He feared it could not be satisfactorily enforced.

What a transformation we have witnessed this afternoon! Suddenly, without any change in public sentiment, for "there has been no rising tide of public sentiment," that which was

unconstitutional has now become constitutional. That which public sentiment would not support, public sentiment now urgently demands. The law which could not be enforced, and therefore should not be enacted, is now a law which should be placed upon the statute books and the Government may possibly be able to enforce it!

WHY THE CHANGE?

There must be some explanation of this sudden and surprising change of front on the part of the Prime Minister. The explanation is not far to seek. We introduced our temperance policy. It met with strong public approval and support. What was a joke to the Government was no joke in the country. The Government soon realized they must do something. What were they to do?

The Prime Minister's own address suggests an explanation. He has told us that he has been in communication with men engaged in the wholesale and retail sale of ardent spirits, he has been in communication with them within the last forty-eight hours, they have assured him that they would like to see anti-treating legislation enacted because they want to see the treating habit destroyed, and to-day the Prime Minister poses as a temperance reformer, drawing support, if not inspiration, for his policy from wholesale and retail dealers in ardent spirits.

Why do wholesale and retail dealers in ardent spirits support the Prime Minister in abolishing the treating system? Because they know that our policy of "abolish the bar" has struck the liquor traffic at its most vulnerable point, and that if we succeed in our policy we have largely destroyed the power and influence of the organized traffic in this province. They are willing, nominally at least, to sacrifice the treating system to save the bar. Why has the Prime Minister introduced this resolution to-day? Do not all circumstances under which it has been introduced warrant us in concluding that the liquor traffic fears our policy; that the Government also fears our policy, but wishes to retain the support of the liquor interests.

The Government is, therefore, unwilling to co-operate with us in abolishing the bar, but advances the proposal to abolish the treating system, with the view of diverting public attention from the great and paramount issue of the abolition of the bar, and to give temperance Conservatives an excuse for continuing to support the Government, while at the same

time the Government retains the undivided support of the liquor interests. There is only one way to effectively abolish the treating system, that is to abolish the bar.

HON. MR. HANNA'S ARGUMENT.

The Honorable Provincial Secretary (Mr. Hanna) professed to quote the statement of my honorable friend the member for Centre Huron that the abolition of treating would decrease the consumption of liquor over the bar by 75 per cent. On this statement he has based an argument on the superiority of the Government's amendment to our proposal, but he failed to quote the statement of the honorable member for Centre Huron that the proposal of the Government would not accomplish the purpose. The honorable member for Centre Huron stated that the Prime Minister knew that his resolution was absolutely no good so long as the bars remain. I ask the members of the House if this is a fair way to deal with the matter, and I venture to submit to the honorable Provincial Secretary that it was not fair to the people of this province to quote a portion of the statement of the honorable member for Centre Huron without at the same time quoting the balance of his statement which entirely alters the meaning and significance of the portion quoted.

I sincerely trust none of the friends of temperance will permit themselves to be turned aside from supporting the cause they have so much at heart by this anti-treating sop, thrown to them with the approval, if not at the request, of wholesale and retail dealers in ardent spirits.

There is one further comment I wish to make upon the address of the honorable Provincial Secretary. He also has made perfectly clear that he is opposed to our policy for the abolition of the bar, and when we recall the language in which he extolled the strength and persistence with which he and the other members of the Government resisted the requests and petitions of the churches and temperance people of the province to modify the three-fifths clause in Local Option contests, he has not left us in doubt as to the side on which he stands, or where he expects to find his friends in this contest.

THE BETTER WAY.

We have been told by the Prime Minister and the Provincial Secretary that if you abolish the bar in this province you will increase the evils of the liquor traffic. It is difficult to treat such a proposal seriously. Permit me to remind the members of the House that this is not the view of men who

have for years been laboring in the cause of temperance reform. It is not the view of the Dominion Alliance for the suppression of the liquor traffic. It is not the view of the churches of this province as expressed through their chief courts. The abolition of the bar has been the battle cry of the forces of temperance in the province for years.

Mr. Lennox: What about the Hon. S. H. Blake?

Mr. Rowell: I have a great respect for Mr. Blake, but I very much prefer the opinion of the representative clergymen and laymen of the Church of England in Canada, expressed at a time when there was no political issue in sight—expressed at the meeting of their General Synod, held at Ottawa in the year 1908, when they stated "that it is the duty of every man to endeavor to further the effort to abolish the bar."

THE RELIGIOUS PRESS.

I also prefer the opinion of the leading religious journals of this province, expressed before either our policy or that of the Prime Minister had been submitted to the House. They stand unequivocally for the abolition of the bar. The Christian Guardian, the official organ of the Methodist Church in Canada, recently made the following statement:—

The abolish-the-bar policy, while somewhat radical, is a peculiarly sane and level-headed method of facing the evils of the drink traffic as they exist among us to-day. It seems pre-eminently the next step to be taken in temperance reform, at least in this Province, and as such it will make a strong appeal to a united conviction in favor of temperance advance.

If Mr. Rowell, or, for that matter, Sir James Whitney either, will come out straightforwardly in favor of abolishing of the bar and a careful and conscientious supervising of the traffic in liquor that will remain, he will succeed in rousing such enthusiasm in the moral reform forces of this Province as no politician in many years has done.

The Province, if we can form any estimate of the situation, is waiting for just such an advanced proposal and will be ready to give strong support and backing to the political party that will honestly and unreservedly make it. Politics altogether aside, we would like to see an abolish-the-bar plank in the platform of either party. We are looking hopefully to see what the next few days will bring forth.

The Presbyterian, the leading paper of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, defines its position as follows:—

The question naturally arises as to how far a political party should be expected to go in order to deserve the support of those who have been enlisted in the fight against the liquor traffic. In our view it would be useless to appeal to the anti-liquor electorate of Ontario with any policy short of the complete banishment of the public bar. The bar-room is recognized as a nuisance in the com-

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munities where it exists. It is the training academy for the drinking habit, the busy workshop where drunkards are produced. The bar-room should be utterly abolished.

After our policy was announced. The Presbyterian further declared its attitude towards the bar-room and its abolition:—

The policy announced by Mr. N. W. Rowell in the Ontario Legislature last week in regard to temperance legislation is so far in line with what The Presbyterian has consistently advocated for years past, that we cannot but approve and applaud it. Indeed, it is hard to see why a policy which has long been approved by men of moderate views, as well as by more militant temperance reformers, should not be accepted on both sides of the House and thus removed from the arena of party politics. The advantages of the proposed legislation are manifest. The bar is intrinsically an evil. It attracts to itself what is worst in the community where it exists and becomes a breeding-ground for every form of wickedness. It takes advantage of the kindly instinct of hospitality to encourage treating, and thus promotes the acquirement of the drinking habit and excessive indulgence. To get rid of the bar would be in itself a great boon.

Further, the abolition of the bar would not only wipe out at once the greater part of the liquor business, but would make it easier to get rid of the residue. There are many municipalities in which it is difficult to carry local option laws, because an amount of sympathy is felt for the hotel proprietor and his family who have been residents of the community perhaps for long and who have served the public by providing a house of entertainment. The bar enjoys a certain protection from its association with the hotel business proper, and is thus allowed to remain in communities where an establishment exclusively devoted to the sale of liquor would not be tolerated.

The Canadian Baptist, after our policy was announced, gave it the following unqualified endorsement:—

"Banish the Bar" has been the cry of some temperance people for a considerable time, but not until last week was it announced in Ontario as a plank in a political platform. To us it is glad tidings, coming as it does from the lips and heart of the new Liberal leader, Mr. N. W. Rowell, K.C., who thus declares himself as a great and warm friend of the temperance movement, and as one who is ready to lead a mighty campaign against perhaps the strongest foe of the temperance movement, namely, the bar-room, or in other words, the treating system. Had the Premier of Ontario introduced such a measure, we can say with all sincerity he would have received our hearty support in that respect at least. Temperance people of all shades of politics will surely join hands in seeking the banishment of the bar, which, if it does not mean entire prohibition of the liquor traffic, means very much towards the overthrow of that traffic.

HON. MR. BLAKE'S MISTAKE.

Are all these advocates of temperance and moral reform mistaken? Have they been cherishing a delusion when they thought they were doing well in advocating the abolition of the bar? I do not believe it, and the people of this province will not believe it.

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With every respect for Mr. Blake, I entirely dissent from his view as to the effect of the abolition of the bar.

I also dissent from Mr. Blake's statement, when he lays the blame for existing conditions largely upon the churches, and charges them with apathy and indifference on this vital issue. I wish to say that my observation and experience is that no men have given themselves more sincerely and effectively to promote the cause of temperance in this country than the ministers of all our churches, and I think Mr. Blake would have been well advised had he refrained from criticizing the alleged failures of the ministers of the churches in this matter.

THE THREE-FIFTHS CLAUSE.

There is one other matter the Prime Minister has made clear to us—his supreme affection for and devotion to the three-fifths clause. The Prime Minister has stated that nobody is now opposed to it. When the Prime Minister makes that statement he is saying something that many men in every electoral district of the province would say is not in accordance with the facts. What are the facts? Where Local Option has been carried notwithstanding the three-fifths handicap, there undoubtedly is in the minds of many temperance men in those municipalities a feeling of security which possibly some of them might not have if it were simply a majority vote, and having overcome the obstacle of the three-fifths clause they do not desire to see it in any way interfered with. Their feeling is perfectly natural. Nobody would suggest interfering with it in these municipalities. But there are 118 municipalities in this province where the people, by a majority vote; have declared in favor of the abolition of the bar, and where the bars are still retained in spite of the majority vote, by means of the three-fifths handicap. In these municipalities, where the people are compelled to submit to the continued existence of the open bar in their midst, you will find a very different feeling among the temperance people on this question.

THE PREMIER SLOW.

The Prime Minister has expressed his gratification that I have been able to bring down my temperance policy at an earlier date than I anticipated—not earlier than I anticipated, but earlier than the Prime Minister anticipated. I have been able to bring it down and submit it to the judgment of the House and the country during the very first session in which I have the honor of being a member of this House. I am

afraid I cannot congratulate the Prime Minister on equal promptness in dealing with some very important phases of the temperance question. He has told us to-day that the Government has under consideration the putting of the administration of the license law under a Provincial Commission, no doubt with a view to improving the administration of the law, withdrawing it from political influence. He tells us that this has been under consideration for over a year, and yet with all his wisdom and all his experience he has not yet been able to make up his mind on this most important matter. When will the Prime Minister make up his mind?

The members of the House will recall that immediately upon the announcement of our policy that we would secure the removal of the administration of our liquor laws from political influence, an announcement appeared in the Mail and Empire, and other Government papers, to the following effect:

Steps will be taken by the Provincial Government in the very near future to appoint a Commission with provincial jurisdiction to take charge of all liquor licenses in the Province and to administer the license law. The Liquor License Act will be widened and the administration of the law taken out of politics. This action was foreshadowed during the last session of the Legislature, when the Hon. W. J. Hanna announced that it was one of the questions which the Government had taken into serious consideration. The Government has been dealing with the question and it is one that will be dealt with immediately. While no definite announcement has been made, it is understood that the Provincial License Board will supersede all local license boards. If this action is not taken the Provincial Commission will have jurisdiction over the Boards of License Commissioners. The provincial body will be non-political, and in this way the entire license question will be removed from politics.

In one of the other Government papers it was stated, "It is certain that the Conservatives will not allow the Liberals to steal a march on them and appropriate their own plan for license reform." Evidently somebody in the Government thought they would "steal a march" on me, by making this announcement almost contemporaneously with the statement of our policy. But apparently the Prime Minister had not been consulted about this announcement, and who has authority in this Government to express an opinion or to suggest any progressive measure unless the Prime Minister has given his permission, and probably his approval, of the form of the announcement? The member of the Government who had the temerity to make such an announcement must be rebuked. So the next day an official intimation was conveyed to the press by the Prime Minister, as I understand it, that it was not the intention of the Government to introduce any such legislation,

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and the honorable the Provincial Secretary had to accept the rebuff.

It is interesting, however, to know that the Prime Minister still has the matter under consideration. If we go back to the records we will find that the Prime Minister has had it under consideration for a great many years. In 1904, when leader of the Opposition, the Prime Minister set forth his temperance policy, and one of the important planks in his platform was "to remove the commissioners and inspectors from political and party influence." That policy may have been under consideration by him as leader of the Opposition for some years prior to 1904, but this is the eighth session in which the Prime Minister has been in control of the legislation of the House, and he has not yet made up his mind to carry this policy into effect.

Sir James Whitney: That was done long ago.

PARTIZAN ADMINISTRATION.

Mr. Rowell: The Prime Minister states that this policy has already been carried into effect. How did the Prime Minister carry it into effect? How has he removed the commissioners and inspectors from political and party influence? One of the first acts of his Government was to remove all the existing license commissioners and all but two or three of the existing license inspectors and appoint supporters of the Government in their places. The Prime Minister states that this policy has been carried into effect. What was one of the next steps to carry it into effect? Within a year after the Government came into power the License Inspector for the City of Toronto, one of the most impartial and efficient in this province, was dismissed because he would not serve the interests of the Conservative party in the City of Toronto in administering the license law. I say this not upon my own authority, but on the authority of influential supporters of the Government.

The Board of Commissioners, Mr. J. W. Flavelle, Mr. John I. Davidson and Mr. J. A. Murray, strong supporters of the Government, but thoroughly independent and responsible men, resigned as a protest against the action of the Government in dismissing this license inspector. Let me read you an extract from the letter of the Commissioners to the Honorable Provincial Secretary, containing their resignation:—

The Commissioners accepted office reluctantly as a public duty on the personal assurance of the Premier and the written statement of the Provincial Secretary that the Government desired a fair, fearless and non-partisan administration of the License Act;

and then, after reviewing the cause which led to their resignation they state:—

The course followed seems to have been designed by men inflamed with passion for office or for dispensing patronage, who determined to get rid of Commissioners who refused to play the part of hired men, subject to the dictation of party followers. The Government by its actions has approved of this course, hence the usefulness of the present Commissioners is at an end. They accepted at full value the statements made by the Premier and his responsible Minister the Provincial Secretary, that they desired an honest non-partisan enforcement of the License Act, and as no other administration was possible while the office was held by the present Board, they step aside to permit the Government to secure a Board in accordance with its present policy.

What did the Toronto News, one of the strongest and most influential journalistic supporters of the Government, say with reference to this action on the part of the Government?

We venture to think that these proceedings change the whole relation of the Government to the liquor trade in Toronto and throughout the Province. There could be no clearer intimation that the enforcement of the law is held to be secondary to the interests of the Conservative party, and that the spoils faction, which, noisy as it is, does not constitute two per cent. of any political party, exercised a controlling influence over Mr. Whitney and his associates.

Sir James Whitney: They support us still.

Mr. Rowell: It is true both Mr. Flavelle and The News are supporters of the Government, but they know what has happened, and when they pointed out that the spoils faction of the Conservative party exercise a controlling influence over the Prime Minister and his associates, and that the license system in Toronto is being manipulated in the interests of the Conservative party, they knew what they were talking about, and the people of this province will accept their statement, knowing that as against the Government which they had been supporting and are still supporting, they would not overstate the facts.

An Honorable Member: Subsequent events have justified the action of the Government.

Mr. Rowell: The honorable member states that "subsequent events have justified the action of the Government." Mr. Speaker, I submit that subsequent events have conclusively established the truth of every statement made by Mr. Flavelle and his associates and the Toronto News with reference to the conduct of the Government in its dealing with the liquor traffic. After the resignation of Mr. Flavelle and his associates, the complaints with reference to the administration of the law in Toronto were such that the Government felt compelled to appoint a commissioner to investigate the whole mat-

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ter, and the evidence produced before that commissioner showed that Dr. Beattie Nesbitt, at that time one of the most prominent leaders of the Conservative party in Toronto, a member of the local Legislature, received consideration for procuring the transfer of licenses, and further showed that the Honorable Dr. Pyne, Minister of Education, charged with the responsibility of administering the educational affairs of this province, sought to influence the commissioners to grant a license to a man who had fourteen police court convictions against him. I wish to say from the best information I can obtain that never has the liquor traffic been so manipulated in the interests of a political party in this country as it has been manipulated in the interests of the Conservative party in the City of Toronto during the past seven years, and from almost every section of the Province one hears similar complaints.

UNFULFILLED PLEDGE.

The Premier promised "to remove the commissioners and inspectors from political and party influence." This is one of the pledges upon which the Prime Minister obtained office, which he has so far lamentably failed to redeem. After seven years in power, he has not yet made up his mind how to do it. He is still considering the advisability of putting the administration of the license law into the hands of a Provincial Commission. But for some strange and unaccountable reason the Premier—usually so decisive—cannot make up his mind.

Now, Mr. Speaker, if the Prime Minister has not been able to make up his mind after seven years in office, and about ten years prior experience as leader of the Opposition on this important question of policy in dealing with the liquor traffic, it appears to me I am doing fairly well, being a "new man" as the Prime Minister says, to place my policy before the House and the country within five months after I have been chosen leader.

HOTEL ACCOMMODATION.

One of the honorable members has suggested that if you abolish the bar you will seriously interfere with the hotel accommodation for the travelling public throughout the province, and particular reference has been made in the press to hotel accommodation in the City of Toronto, and the serious effect the abolition of the bar might have upon it. I desire to draw the attention of the members of the House to the fact that in the large cities and towns of this province the

accommodation for the travelling public is provided by a comparatively small number of hotels. I am advised that in the City of Toronto the bedroom accommodation furnished by the 110 licensed hotels is about 4,000 rooms. Of these the families and servants of the proprietors occupy about 600, leaving only about 3,400 rooms for the use of the travelling public and transient guests, who nearly all find accommodation in about 30 of the principal hotels.

Mr. Lennox: Your figures are not correct.

Mr. Rowell: The honorable member states that my figures are not correct. It is quite evident that the honorable member speaks without knowledge. He has never looked into the matter, or he would not make such a statement. The statement I make is on the authority of one of the best posted men on this question in Toronto, and I hold in my hand a list of the thirty hotels which provide the accommodation for the travelling public. I can read them to my honorable friend if he desires me to do so.

The remaining eighty of the licensed hotels in Toronto may serve mid-day meals and occasionally furnish accommodation, and some few are boarding houses with bars attached, but they depend for their existence upon profits from the bar.

I am credibly informed that in the other important cities and the towns of the province, quite one-third of the hotels provide the real accommodation for the travelling public. The other two-thirds do not furnish any substantial accommodation for the travelling public, but are largely drinking resorts.

I believe the complete abolition of the bar and the separation of the liquor traffic from the keeping of houses of public entertainment would greatly improve the accommodation provided for the travelling public, because the hotel business would then stand on the same basis as any other legitimate business and the proprietors would know that they must cater to the tastes and needs of the travelling public if they would do business and make their hotels pay, just as other business enterprises are compelled to do.

A PRACTICAL ILLUSTRATION.

In dealing with the situation in Toronto, it is interesting to note that for a long period of years certain parts of the city have been kept free from the bars. Take that portion of the city north of Queen and west of Yonge Street, containing about 12 square miles and a population of over 150,000, and there are only two hotels in this district, one on the corner

of Bloor and Brunswick Streets, and one on Dundas Street, and who is there in this House who will not admit that it would be a benefit to the community if there were no licenses at all in this district. For many years there was a constant struggle to obtain licenses in this district, but owing to the protests of the residents licenses have been refused for so long a period that it has now become almost a tradition to keep this district free from licenses. If it is a good thing to have a section of Toronto with a resident population of 150,000 kept free from bars, would it not be equally good to have the whole city free from the open bar?

A REASON FOR PROMPTNESS.

This problem of the bar is becoming increasingly a problem of the cities and towns.

We must not lose sight of the significance of the increase in our urban population. We must not lose sight of the importance of the fact that of this urban population an ever increasing percentage consists of immigrants from Europe. Many of these newcomers, whom we gladly welcome, perhaps the majority of them taking the immigrants as a whole, through no fault of their own but due to the conditions which surround them in the land of their birth have not received the education on questions of temperance and moral reform which the native born citizens of this province have received, and they do not hold nearly so advanced views as do the citizens of this province on the evils of the liquor traffic and the necessity for seeking by effective legislation to remedy these evils. Just in proportion as these elements of our population increase, will it become increasingly difficult to secure the enactment of legislation curtailing the evils of the liquor traffic in the cities and towns of the province. Now is the time of all times for the people of this province to register in no uncertain way their deep seated conviction that the public interests demand the abolition of the bar. Let us take advantage of this opportunity of for ever wiping out the public bar in this province.

COMPENSATION.

The honorable member for North Toronto (Mr. McNaught) in the course of his remarks this evening asked me if I would compensate the hotel keepers for the loss of their licenses. Before answering this question I should like to ask the honorable member a question. Did I understand the honorable member aright when I understood him to say that the abolition of the treating system would wipe out seventy-five per cent. of the liquor traffic in hotels?

Sir James Whitney: No, he said nothing of the kind.

Mr. McNaught: No, I said the member for Centre Huron had stated that it would wipe out seventy-five per cent. I said fifty per cent.

Mr. Rowell: Do I understand the honorable member for North Toronto now to say that the abolition of the treating system would wipe out fifty per cent. of the liquor traffic in hotels?

Mr. McNaught: No, I said reduce.

Mr. Rowell: Well, from the standpoint of the liquor seller, I cannot see what difference it makes whether one-half of his sales are wiped out or his sales are reduced by one-half (laughter and applause), but if the honorable member for North Toronto thinks there is any difference, I will put the question this way: Am I right in understanding the honorable member for North Toronto to say that the abolition of the treating system would reduce the sales of the liquor in hotels by one-half?

Mr. McNaught: Yes.

Sir James Whitney: No, he said nothing of the kind.
(Loud laughter.)

Mr. Rowell: Mr. Speaker, when I desire to know what the member for North Toronto thinks and says, I prefer to take it direct from the honorable member rather than through the Prime Minister, and the honorable member has answered yes to my question. Does the member for North Toronto desire to withdraw his statement? (No answer.) Now, I desire to ask the honorable member for North Toronto, if he wipes out or reduces or cuts down the total sales of the hotel keeper by one-half, does he propose to give any compensation to the hotel keeper for this reduction in his business? (Loud cheers.)

Mr. McNaught: No.

Mr. Rowell: Then Mr. Speaker, the honorable member for North Toronto occupies this anomalous position: he proposes to cut off one-half of the liquor business of the hotel keepers, and he feels it is perfectly just and right to do so without any compensation, but if you cut off the whole liquor business you are doing a great injustice and wrong unless you give compensation. (Applause.)

Mr. McNaught: Do you propose to give compensation?

Mr. Rowell: I am coming to that, but before coming to it, I wish to make perfectly clear the position of the honorable member for North Toronto, for while he constantly professes to take a very independent and impartial view of matters, no man more quickly falls in behind the Government in support-

ing whatever they propose, than the honorable member for North Toronto. We have in this province through a series of years reduced the number of liquor licenses, either by direct legislation or by Local Option from over 6,000 to less than 2,000. Considerably more than two-thirds of the total liquor licenses in this province have been so wiped out, and yet no compensation has ever been given to any of those whose licenses have been cancelled or withdrawn. Neither party in the House has ever seriously proposed to give compensation to those whose licenses have so been cut off or withdrawn. In my judgment, Mr. Speaker, the men whose licenses have been permitted to continue have no better right to compensation than those whose licenses have been cut off.

Mr. McNaught: Two wrongs do not make a right.

Mr. Rowell: Our resolution makes no provision for compensation.

A CONSISTENT COURSE.

The honorable member for Brockville (Mr. Donovan) has stated that I never pressed on the old Government the importance of advanced temperance legislation: I never asked them to abolish the bar; that so long as my own party friends were in power, I had nothing to say. The honorable member for Algoma has stated the same thing in different language. I wish to say to both of these honorable members that they are speaking without a knowledge of the matters whereof they speak. Both publicly and privately I pressed upon the attention of the late Liberal administration of this province and of the party of which I was a member the importance in the public interests of more advanced legislation dealing with the liquor traffic. That question was one of the most important issues before the Ontario Liberal Convention which met in this city in November, 1904, to consider the policy of the Liberal party in this province. I did my best on that occasion to secure a strong and radical temperance plank in our platform.

I regret to say that I found myself in the minority on that occasion, and while the convention adopted a temperance plank substantially more advanced than the legislation then in force, it did not make the radical advance that I believed it should, and that I then believed and still believe the public interests demanded.

There has been no change in my position and attitude on this question because of a change of Government. My attitude throughout has been to do everything in my power to curtail, if we could not entirely wipe out, the great evils of the liquor traffic.

ANOTHER ERROR.

The Prime Minister has stated that in the last election I allowed this great question to go to the people "without a word of comment or suggestion as to what should be done." I took down the Prime Minister's words at the time, and if I have not taken them correctly I hope he will correct me.

Sir James Whitney: Quite possibly I used that language, but I also stated you promised to state your policy at a future date.

Mr. Rowell: That is correct, but the point to which I desire to direct the attention of the Prime Minister and the House is the statement of the Prime Minister, made this afternoon, that I allowed this question "to go to the people without a word of comment or suggestion as to what should be done." The Prime Minister has, on more than one occasion, made statements to this effect. He has been repeatedly corrected, but he continues to make the statement nevertheless. I want to say to the Prime Minister that his statement is not in accordance with the facts. When I had the honor to submit to the electors the policy upon which the Liberal party would go to the country in the last election, I included the following important proposals in that policy:—

"The betterment of the social and industrial condition of the masses of the people shall be one of our supreme concerns.

"The evils of intemperance constitute a grave social peril. During the ensuing Parliamentary term we will consider the best form of legislation to deal effectively with these evils, and the electors will have an opportunity of passing upon our proposals at the following general election.

"We will immediately abolish the three-fifths vote in Local Option contests, and substitute a simple majority.

"During the continuance of the license system we will secure the removal of its administration from political influence."

In the first address I made in support of our policy, the address I delivered in Massey Hall in November last, I said:—

"The evils of intemperance are so serious and so widespread that all concerned in the social, moral and industrial betterment of the people must be deeply interested in the question of how to put an end to these evils. We do not hesitate to affirm that present conditions are not satisfactory, that the present Government has not given adequate temper-

ance legislation. All will admit that the question presents great practical difficulties, and there are marked differences of opinion even among those interested in the temperance cause as to the character of the legislation which would best meet the requirements of our province and insure the permanent progress of temperance reform. But the difficulties of the problem increase rather than diminish responsibility of our legislature.

"As you are all aware, I have taken a deep interest in this question for many years, and since I became leader of the party I have had the benefit of many valuable suggestions as to the form which legislation should take. Some have urged that the best results would be secured by removing the present handicap of the three-fifths vote on local option, putting an end to political interference with the administration of the liquor laws, and that with these handicaps removed we might look forward to the almost universal adoption of Local Option throughout Ontario. Others have urged that nothing short of Provincial prohibition will meet the situation or really satisfy the demands of the people; still others that banish the bar is the policy which should be adopted; others banish the bar and place under Government control the residue of the traffic; still others a steady and progressive reduction in the number of licenses issued, so that at the end of say ten years, we should have no liquor license in the province. I might go on multiplying the suggestions that are made, all by men sincerely interested in the cause of temperance. The form of legislation is so important, the interests at stake so large, and the result may have such a vital effect upon the well-being of the people of this province, I am sure you will agree with me that the most careful investigation and deliberate consideration should be given to the solution of so far-reaching and difficult a problem.

"It is our intention to give early consideration to this matter in all its bearings, and the decisions at which we arrive will be laid before the people and the people will have an opportunity of passing judgment upon our policy at the next general election, not in the form of a referendum, but as the policy of the party, upon which we will stand or fall, but we shall not fall. The promise I now make is that I shall enter upon the investigation and consideration of the question with the sole desire to reach a conclusion which will best promote the real interests of temperance, and every step taken will be a step in advance.

"Meanwhile we now submit for the judgment of the electors two important and specific proposals: the first is the abolition of the three-fifths vote in local option contests . . . and the other is that during the continuance of the license system we will secure the removal of its administration from political influence."

This position I emphasized throughout the campaign, and in the last address I delivered in the contest at the town of Ingersoll, on the 9th day of December, I enlarged upon the necessity of more advanced temperance legislation, and made this statement:—

"Just as soon as I have an opportunity of consulting with those who will be my colleagues in the House, on whose support I must depend to carry any measures we introduce, and with the members of the temperance and other organizations throughout the province interested in the cause of social and moral reform, we will formulate our policy on this question and will present it to the people, not in the form of a referendum or plebiscite, but as the policy of the Liberal party; on it we will take your judgment, and on it we will stand or fall, and I believe we shall not fall, for I believe the policy will commend itself to the majority of the people as in the best interests of the people."

A PROMISE KEPT.

Pursuant to the pledge given in our platform, reiterated and supported in the addresses I made throughout the campaign, I entered upon the investigation and consideration of this matter so soon as I had an opportunity to consult my colleagues in the Legislature. We have pursued that investigation, with the sole desire to reach a conclusion which would best promote the highest welfare of the people in this Province, and it is in pursuance of that pledge and promise that I now, in the first session of the Legislature, submit to the House and the country the policy embodied in the resolution I have moved.

To those, whether friends or opponents, who have criticized me for delay in making the declaration of policy contained in our resolution, I have only to say the course I have pursued has been dictated by no one. From the time I accepted the position of leader of the Liberal party in this province down to this present hour I have pursued on this great issue the course which my own judgment and conscience told me was the right and honorable course for me to pursue, having regard to the responsibilities I had assumed and the interests of the great cause of temperance reform which I had at heart.

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I am within the judgment of the members of this House and of the people of this province when I say that the justification, the vindication, of my course is to be found in the splendid support which this policy is receiving at the hands of my colleagues in the Legislature, and in the support which, I am sure, it will receive, not only from the overwhelming majority of our supporters in the country, but also from the other electors of this province who are vitally interested in the moral, social and industrial betterment of the people.

The great issue before this House and before the electors of this Province is, Shall the bars be for ever abolished, or shall they be retained? That is the clear issue. Upon that issue the battle is joined. I say to those associated with me in this House, I say to all, whether Liberal or Conservative, who support us on this issue in the country, that if in fighting we fall, we fall in a good cause. If in fighting we win, as I am firmly convinced we will, we shall have accomplished a great, a beneficent and an enduring work for the people of this province.

**ADDRESS BY
MR. N. W. ROWELL, K.C., M.P.P.
Delivered at Mass Meeting in London, July 1st,
1912, on Opening his Summer Campaign.**

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I need hardly say that it is a very great pleasure to me to visit my old home and my old friends of the city of London and County of Middlesex. No matter what changes may come to us in after years, there are no friendships like the friendships of youth; there are no associations like the associations of one's old home, and there is no place that one's heart goes back to with such affection as the place of one's childhood and early youth. It is with feelings of deep emotion that I come back to the city of London, and in my home city and my home county start this campaign which will not end until every licensed bar is closed in the Province of Ontario. It is not only the home of my youth and my early years, but it was in the provincial election of the year 1890, when your good citizen, and my friend, Mr. T. H. Purdom, K.C., contested the riding of East Middlesex against Mr. Tooley, that I first took part in the discussion of public affairs.

TRIBUTE TO COLLEAGUES.

It is a great gratification to me this afternoon to have with me on the platform so many of my colleagues in the Legislature. I wish to say that, if during the past session the Liberal party has made a distinctly favorable impression upon the people of the province, if there is more heart and hope in the Liberal party of the province now than in recent years, and I know there is, it is in no small measure due to the splendid support I have received from my distinguished colleagues in the local House. (Applause.) I am particularly glad this afternoon to have on the platform my honorable friend the member for Centre Huron, who seconded the resolution I moved in the House for the abolition of the bar—(applause)—a man who has been actively identified in promoting legislation in the interest of temperance during the whole of his public career.

GENERAL ATTITUDE OF LIBERALISM.

It will not be out of place at this opening meeting in our educational campaign if, by way of preface to a discussion of the important issue which, I am sure, is uppermost in all your minds, I briefly state the general attitude and policy of the Liberal party in this Province on the problems now pressing for solution at the hands of our Provincial Legislature. If we rightly understand the essential principles of Liberalism, we should not be in doubt as to this attitude and policy.

While the social and political conditions are very different in Canada and Great Britain, there is no doubt that the Liberalism and Conservatism of Great Britain have exercised, and still exercise, a very marked influence on the character and policies of the Liberal and Conservative parties in this country.

Liberalism and Conservatism are two distinct currents of thought, representing two distinct attitudes of mind—one Liberal, the other Conservative—toward public questions, not peculiar to Canada or Great Britain, but present to a greater or less degree, under various names, in every progressive country of the world.

CECIL'S DEFINITIONS.

Lord Hugh Cecil, one of the most brilliant leaders of the Conservative party in Great Britain, has recently written a book on "Conservatism," in which he defines the three streams of influence which, combining, make up the modern Conservative party in Great Britain.

(1) "Pure Conservatism," which gives name and character to the party. This he defines "as a disposition averse from change, and it springs partly from a distrust of the unknown and a corresponding reliance on experience, rather than on theoretic reasoning."

(2) "Toryism," the King and Church Party, which had grown up in opposition to the reforming Puritans. It believed in the divine right of Kings, in the divine right of the Church, and stood for maintaining the rights and privileges of both.

(3) An influence difficult to define, sometimes called "Imperialism" and sometimes "Jingoism." He says: "By this way of thinking, men turn their eyes away from the domestic conflicts. . . . to the part the country, as a whole, can and ought to play in the affairs of the world."

CLASSES VERSUS MASSES.

It may, therefore, be fairly stated that the Conservative party stands for the maintenance of the established order; for the rights of the governing classes, and for an aggressive foreign policy. This does not mean that they are unmindful of the interests of the less favored classes; but their interests are not the immediate objective in view in shaping their policy, as they believe that the interests of the masses are best served when the established order and the rights of the ruling classes are maintained.

POSITION OF LIBERALISM.

Professor Hobhouse, professor of sociology in London University, has just written a book on Liberalism. His definition and description of Liberalism is equally interesting. He points out that we enter the modern period of British history, "with society constituted on a thoroughly authoritative basis, the Kingly power supreme and tending toward arbitrary despotism, and below the King the social hierarchy, extending from the great territorial lord to the day laborer"; that "the protest against that order, a protest religious, political, economic, social and ethical, is the historic beginning of Liberalism. It finds humanity oppressed, and would set it free." He tells us that Liberalism was a struggle for liberty, personal, civil, political, fiscal, social, economic, domestic, national and international; it was a struggle for the rights of the people as against privilege and privileged interests and classes; that with this struggle for liberty came the struggle for equality of opportunity for all men. The greatest victories of Liberalism during the past century were necessarily along the lines of constitutional reform. They had to secure the right of Government "by the people" before they could securely establish government "for the people." The Liberal party was not indifferent to Imperial and international relationships, but Imperial and international aspirations were not controlling motives in determining its policy. The welfare of the masses is the ideal that animates and inspires Liberalism in Great Britain to-day.

AIM OF LIBERALISM.

It may be fairly stated that, whatever else Liberalism in Great Britain stands for, above all it has stood and stands for enlarging the liberties of the masses of the people and increasing their opportunities for moral, social and industrial betterment. It is the urgent aim of present-day Liberalism to secure for the

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people social and economic "conditions under which mind and character may have free and fair opportunity of developing themselves" and "the normal man, who is not defective in mind, body or will can, by useful labor, feed, house and clothe himself and his family." The accomplishment of this great purpose under the social and industrial conditions existing in Great Britain undoubtedly means social reconstruction. The Lloyd George Budget, carrying with it reform in land taxation, old-age pensions, national insurance in case of sickness and unemployment, are a few of the measures of social reform designed to accomplish this aim.

WHAT LIBERALISM HAS DONE.

The history of Liberalism and Conservatism in Canada has followed along somewhat similar lines.

Liberalism had to fight much the same battles in this Province as in Great Britain. The struggle for civil, political and religious liberty and equality for the masses of the people was long and bitter, but was successful.

The triumphs of Liberalism in Canada, in the past century brought us great constitutional reforms: (1) responsible government; (2) representation by population; (3) the extension of the franchise; (4) vote by ballot; (5) disendowment of what was practically a State Church, commonly called "the secularization of the clergy reserves," and putting all religious denominations upon a equality before the law; (6) a system of common schools; (7) a non-sectarian State university; (8) municipal self-government; (9) Canadian Confederation, with the right of Provincial self-government; (10) Dominion self-government, or the recognition of Canada as a nation—one of the free nations of the Empire.

These great measures were not all passed into law by Liberal Governments, but where they were not, Liberal leaders created the public sentiment which demanded the reforms, and Conservative leaders granted them rather than retire from office.

The battle for constitutional reform has been largely won. We have secured the right of "government by the people." The governing classes are no longer the few, but the many.

INFLUENCE ON LEGISLATION.

Liberal principles have also largely modified the character and policy of the Conservative party in this country. There are in the Conservative party a number of men, no doubt, who hold the Liberal view on many questions, and their presence and

influence have doubtless resulted in the Conservative party sometimes adopting the Liberal view on public questions. It is equally true that there are some men in the Liberal party who hold the Conservative point of view on various questions, and yet still vote with their party, and their presence, no doubt, has on some issues made the Liberal party more Conservative in its attitude than it otherwise would have been. It is also true that long tenure in office tends to make a Liberal Government more Conservative, while long tenure in Opposition tends to make a Conservative Opposition more Liberal. But after making all allowances, Conservative correctly describes the general attitude and policy of the one party, and Liberal the general attitude and policy of the other.

GREAT TASK OF SOCIAL REFORM.

Liberalism has not accomplished its purpose or spent its force when it has won for the people the right to rule. These victories must be defended against the forces of reaction and the growing power of corporate wealth and influence. The triumphs of the past should but put us in this Province, as in Great Britain, in the position to undertake the still greater task of social reform.

The present Government during the last session procured an act whereby it put into the hands of the Executive and withdrew from the control of the representatives of the people the expenditure of \$5,000,000 for the development of Northern Ontario. This act is a most serious blow at one of the most vital principles of responsible self-government, viz., the absolute control of the Legislature over the expenditure of public money. Liberalism in the past fought some of its greatest battles to win this right for the representatives of the people. Apparently in this Province we must fight this battle over again, but the victory will be sure!

SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE.

If we are true to Liberal principles and traditions, we must ensure that the Government shall be not only in name, but in reality, "by the people and for the people." Liberalism believes in the sovereignty of the people. She has secured for democracy the right to rule, but the success of this rule depends upon the people accepting their full share of responsibility in the work of government. The engrossment of business, the pursuit of pleasure, or indifference to public affairs, lead many to forget that every citizen owes a duty to his country just as truly as he does to his family, his neighbors, and to his God. He may

shirk it, but he cannot relieve himself of the responsibility. Every citizen in a free, democratic country who fails intelligently to discharge his political duties neglects to fulfil one of the primary obligations of his citizenship. "One of our most crying needs to-day is an awakening among all classes of our citizens to a full recognition of these obligations. Liberalism must give itself to this task. We should be glad, not only to vote for the cause in which we believe, but, to the extent of our ability and opportunity, to cheerfully and enthusiastically promote that cause. Just in so far as any considerable number of citizens fail to take an intelligent and active interest in our political affairs, they increase the opportunity for corporate and corrupt influence to determine our representation in Parliament and Legislature, and to influence the course of legislation and administration. If we are to have in reality government "by the people," we can only secure it by the people discharging their political duties.

PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL REFORM.

The other great task of Liberalism must be to ensure that government shall be "for the people"; that great measures of social reform shall be pushed to the front. The splendid achievements of Liberalism in Great Britain in the line of social reform are heartening true Liberals the world over. Questions of national trade, transportation and defence, questions of Imperial and international relationships are within the jurisdiction of the Dominion, but this Province has jurisdiction over those social questions which are now stirring the hearts of all social reformers.

NEED FOR AWAKENING.

We have a great position of advantage in this Province, as compared with Great Britain, or even the United States. Fortunately, as yet the problems of poverty, of slum conditions, of the increasing urban and declining rural population, of the criminal classes, of insanitary housing, of the oppression of the poor by corporate greed, of the dominating and blighting influence of the liquor traffic, have not become acute with us, as they have in Great Britain and the older countries of Europe, and in some sections of the United States. But already there are sufficient evidences of them to awaken us from self-satisfied conditions. Just as our country increases in wealth and population, just as the cities grow in size and influence, just as our foreign population increases, so will these conditions become acute, unless we grapple intelligently and courageously with the situation at the present time. It should be our supreme ambi-

tion to remedy the existing evils in our social system, to change the existing tendencies that are prejudicial to the highest welfare of the whole people, and to prevent, so far as possible, the development of these menacing conditions in the future.

Let me briefly mention some of the problems that now confront us in this Province and to which as Liberals we must address ourselves.

TO DEVELOP AGRICULTURE.

There is a decreasing rural population and a rapidly increasing urban population in the other parts of the Province. The larger the percentage of our population living upon the farm, the better will be our social and industrial conditions. All thoughtful persons recognize that in the country and on the farm we find the most congenial atmosphere for the development of those homely virtues of industry, thrift and honesty which lie at the very basis of individual as well as national character. The life of the city is recruited, strengthened and stimulated by the life it draws from the country. Everything that can properly be done to improve the conditions of agriculture, to make life on the farm both more remunerative and more attractive, is a valuable contribution toward the future well-being of our people.

TRAINING THE CHILDREN.

Education lies at the root of all movements for social reform, and so we must seek to put forth every reasonable and practicable effort to secure the best possible education for the children in the public schools of the Province. The decline in attendance at many rural schools and the inefficiency of the teaching in both the English and English-French, due to the lack of properly qualified teachers, is a most serious problem, which the present Government appears incapable of solving. Liberalism must seek to solve this problem, and secure the best possible education for every child.

RESPECT FOR THE LAW.

The inexpensive, expeditious and impartial administration of justice is essential to the protection of the rights of the common people. The speedy, just and efficient administration of the criminal law is necessary for the protection of the life and property of citizens. The weakness and laxity in the administration of justice by the present Government have lessened the public confidence in the administration of justice in this Province, and it is of the utmost importance in the public interest that this confidence should be restored by a complete change in the methods of administration.

PROBLEM OF PUBLIC HEALTH.

The whole problem of public health is one of increasing importance. A substantial advance was made by the bill passed during the recent session of our Legislature, but we have not yet awakened to the full importance in the public interests, of greater care in the preservation and promotion of the health of our people.

TAXATION REFORM.

Reform in our taxation law is urgently needed. Thrift and industry must be encouraged. Holding lands idle for the purpose of speculation must be discouraged, and the community must receive a larger share of the land values which the community, and not the speculator, creates. The present Prime Minister is a typical Tory of the old school, and on this question he adopts the typical Tory position. He has so far insisted on maintaining the present law, notwithstanding the great public demand for its change. Social justice demands a change, and Liberalism must devote itself to this important reform.

COMPENSATION FOR WORKMEN.

I believe the average wage of both skilled and unskilled labor in Canada is less than \$550 per year. Anyone who has knowledge of the conditions of life in our cities and towns must know how difficult it is for a workman to pay the present high house rent, to bring up a family—to say nothing of laying by for a rainy day—with the present high cost of living. Where a man receiving such a wage is laid aside through accident or illness, and his wages cease, the problem of support becomes desperately acute, and if his life is taken, his widow and children are usually left with inadequate means of support. For years the Liberal Opposition has been pressing upon the Government and the Legislature the necessity for progressive legislation to meet these conditions. They have forced the Government into action to the extent of appointing a commissioner to investigate, and we now have an interim report from him. This report indicates that the commissioner is considering the whole question thoroughly and sympathetically. But Liberals must see, no matter what the attitude or policy of the present Government, that adequate provision is made for reasonable compensation for workmen in our industries in case of both accident and illness, and for insuring that this compensation shall be paid, without the workman being subjected to the expense and uncertainty of protracted litigation.

CONTROLLING CORPORATE INFLUENCE.

No one can view, without serious apprehension, the social and industrial unrest existing in the United States to-day. The masses of the people appear to be in rebellion against what they consider the domination and control of corporate wealth. They charge that corporate power and wealth are being used to influence elections, to control legislation, and to affect the judgments of the courts; that corporate power is used to increase the gains of the rich and to oppress the poor. Corporations in Canada do not differ, except in size and power, from corporations in the United States; but with the increase in the wealth and population of our country we may expect them to grow and to endeavor to exercise their powers, just as American corporations are now doing. While corporations serve a useful and indispensable purpose in organized society as we have it to-day, we must see that they do not acquire the power and influence in our country that they have acquired in the United States; we must, to the full limit of the legislative and administrative power of the Province, seek to prevent corporate power from being used to influence elections or to control the course of legislation or administration. We must prohibit all contributions by corporations for political purposes: we must require the publication of all campaign contributions.

We must secure the appointment of a public prosecutor, specially charged with the investigation and prosecution not only of all forms of electoral fraud, but also all charges that corporations have made contributions for political purposes. So long as we tolerate political contributions by corporations, those corporations will demand, and in some form receive, recoupment with interest at the public expense. We must see that the criminal law against unlawful combinations to restrain trade, to stifle competition, and to enhance prices to the consumer is vigorously enforced. The Attorney-General's Department needs to be aroused from its slumber on this matter. We must reorganize our Ontario Railway and Municipal Board, and reconstitute it with a personnel and with powers which will command the public confidence, just as the Dominion Railway Board does to-day. We must adopt such further measures as are practicable to safeguard the rights and interests of the masses of the people.

LAND FOR THE SETTLER.

We have in this Province a great heritage in our lands, our forests, our waterpowers, and our fisheries. We must look upon these, not as resources to be exploited, even though the whole benefit goes to the Provincial revenue, but as a great heritage

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to be conserved and developed for the benefit of the masses of the people, and to this end the Liberal party in this Province will direct its policy. We are trustees for the generations that come after us. We have protested in the past, we still protest, against the unjustifiable alienation of 2,000,000 acres of the best agricultural land in northern Ontario to the Canadian Northern Ontario Railway as a bonus—a railway the bonds of which are guaranteed by the Government of the Dominion of Canada. We further protest against the alienation of nearly 100,000 acres, made some few days ago to a Buffalo lumberman, under the guise of a proposition for land settlement. Our policy is: the land for the settler, reserved for the settler, and the settler for the land. The Government of this Province should in a businesslike and comprehensive way undertake to solve the problem of settlement in northern and northwestern Ontario.

ABOLISH THE BAR.

Time will not permit me to mention other social and industrial reforms greatly needed for the benefit of the people of the Province. But all our measures for social and industrial reform will fail to secure the results we desire so long as we continue in our midst an institution which impairs the efficiency of the workingman; curtails the output of the manufacturer; diverts from productive and beneficial industries a large amount of capital; destroys homes; wrecks lives; makes paupers and criminals—the licensed bar. Liberalism, if true to its mission and work for social reform, must rid the Province of the open bar.

Mr. Rowell, after setting forth and explaining the Liberal policy and pointing out that the liquor traffic was one of the great causes of crime, insanity and poverty, proceeded as follows:—

THE PRISON FARMS.

We are all interested in the experiment now being tried by the honorable the Provincial Secretary, in the prison farm at Guelph. What is that experiment? He is seeking to demonstrate, if it be possible, that the man once a criminal, may be reformed by sympathetic treatment, by giving him a kindly helping hand in the process of reform—(applause)—and so this Province is spending thousands of dollars to see if we can reform the criminal after he has fallen and become addicted to criminal habits. I want to suggest that there is one reform away back of that. Why not put a stop to the cause that has sent 75 per cent. into prison? (Applause.) Don't you think the

ASYLUMS OVERCROWDED

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boy who has never worn a prison garb or become polluted with the associations of prison life, is better worth saving than the man who has become a criminal, and while we view with every sympathy the experiment now being carried on, and we hope and trust it will prove a splendid success, we say better to turn off the tap which supplies the criminal than spend so much of our energy in reforming them after they have been made criminals.

ASYLUMS OVERCROWDED.

At the present time the asylums of this Province are greatly overcrowded, and this Province is spending hundreds of thousands of dollars to build new institutions to provide accommodation for those who are mentally indisposed. The best information I have been able to gather from statistics collected in the United States and Canada is this: That the liquor traffic is the cause of not less than 25 per cent. of the insanity in our asylums. Our friend, Mr. Hanna, is trying a most interesting experiment in connection with the new asylum at Whitby, and I want to suggest that he should also endeavor to put a stop to the traffic that is driving men and women insane.

Then there is poverty. Fortunately we live in such a land of plenty that we do not see it in its gravest form. But even in our land, and in the United States, where it exists, our own observation tells us it is largely induced by the parties being addicted to strong drink. The same Massachusetts report, to which I have referred, showed that of the adult inmates in public charitable institutions, in that state, 75.46 per cent. were addicted to the use of strong drink. We believe that everything should be done to remove poverty, and let us start in by stopping one of the main causes that induce poverty in a country such as this. (Applause.)

AN AWFUL LEGACY.

I wish to suggest to you that more serious in its results than the crime, insanity and poverty directly produced, is the legacy that the drunkard hands down to the children that come after him. (Applause.) We are only now commencing to realize the full force of heredity, and the taint that passes from father to children. An address delivered before the American Medical Association at Atlantic City, the early part of last month, has been referred to in our papers. While Mr. Roosevelt was President of the United States he appointed Dr. Alexander MacNicoll, of New York, formerly one of the physicians of the Red Cross Hospital in New York, to make an investigation of the subject of alcoholism and narcotics. He has made an in-

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vestigation of this whole question. He delivered an address before the American Medical Association and gave the results of his investigations. He said: "In our studies among school children in New York City, we found that 62 per centum were the children of drinking parents, and that 91 per cent. of these children of drinking parents suffered from some functional or organic disease"; and in speaking to his fellow medical practitioners he pointed out the reasons for these conditions. He also pointed out that there was a great increase in insanity and at the same time a marked decline in the birth rate in the United States, which no doubt is due to many causes, but he claimed that one of the main causes was the increasing use of strong drink. He warned the people of the United States that if they desired to put a stop to the physical degeneration of the people they must put a stop to the liquor traffic.

If the traffic has these results, and no man will challenge these results, no man can truthfully challenge these results, it is our duty for the good of humanity to do everything in our power by education and legislation to remedy these great evils. I desire to say right here, let no one misunderstand, I do not believe everything can be effected by legislation. We must not cease education, let education and legislation go hand in hand.

CREATE PUBLIC OPINION.

Education must create the public opinion. Education must supply the knowledge which largely forms the basis of public opinion. Education must produce the conviction which will crystallize public opinion into action, but once you have reached this condition, it is the bounden duty of the Legislature to give legislative force to this public opinion, and public conviction, and reinforce the work of education by practical legislation adequate to meet the conditions—(applause)—and it is this legislation which we say is so urgently needed at the present time. The liquor traffic is the enemy of the workingman, the manufacturer, and the merchant. It is the enemy of the city, and fosters the slum conditions in our cities. It is the enemy of the country. You may have no hotels in your riding, your boy may be free from the contamination of strong drink, but he comes to London or he goes to Toronto, or to any other city of this Province where the bars are open, and he takes the glass which may be his undoing, both for time and for eternity. (Applause.) Because you are free from it, and because you do not personally suffer from it, you cannot be indifferent, you must not be indifferent, you may be a great help to us, and we may be a great help to you by wiping out the bar from the cities of the province, as well as the country places.

PUBLIC OPINION.

What is the condition of public opinion on this subject? And I now come to the most interesting phase of the question. If I were Sir James Whitney I would say, "with amazement," —(laughter)—but I will only say with great satisfaction, we have seen the editorial statement in the Mail and Empire that, "If we only succeed in raising sufficient public sentiment to demand the abolition of the bar, Sir James, responsive to public sentiment will do the rest, and he will abolish the bar." (Laughter.) In fact, I believe my good friend the London Free Press is in accord with that idea, too. It has not completely committed itself to it, but still it appears to be in accord with the idea.

Mr. Rowell pointed out that public opinion as evidenced by the vote on the Plebiscite on the Referendum, and in Local Option contests, by the resolutions of Church Courts and by the support which the Liberal policy had received since its announcement, called for the abolition of the bar.

Now I say, gentlemen, without going more into detail, that public opinion in this Province is against the bar-room. (Applause.) The best opinion of this Province is against the bar-

INVITATION TO SIR JAMES WHITNEY.

The Mail and Empire has said that so soon as public opinion expresses itself, Sir James will carry it out. I, this afternoon, make this appeal to Sir James Whitney, and to all his Government, and to the Mail and Empire: Join with us and let both political parties unite to forever wipe out the curse of the bar-room from this Province. (Tremendous applause.) What a magnificent spectacle it would be if Ontario should lead all the Provinces of the Dominion by both political parties uniting and saying "For the public good, the bar must be wiped out." (Applause.) Nothing could be done that would give me greater pleasure than to find that Sir James would abandon that inefficient and ineffective method of dealing with the question, and come out next session with a strong measure for abolishing the bar. He would have our whole-hearted support. What we want is not power, we want the public good. For that we stand, and for that we work. But you may think that consummation is too good to be true. But I do not despair—I have seen Sir James, notwithstanding he is a genuine old Tory in spirit—and is decidedly averse to change—I have seen him move a bit since I have been in public life. (Applause.)

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NO JOKE NOW.

Shortly before we introduced our resolution for the abolition of the bar, speaking on one of the questions before the House, Sir James twitted me with delay in bringing down our temperance policy. He said: "Our policy is well known, it has been before the country for ten years, and the people have repeatedly endorsed our stand at the elections." At that date, evidently it had never entered his mind to introduce a resolution on the treating question—(laughter)—but we introduced our resolution and he was amazed, probably he did not think there was any leader in the Province who had the courage to come out for the abolition of the bar, or that any party would stand for it, and Mr Hanna thought it was a joke. But the people of this country did not think it was either, and the expressions of opinion throughout the Province between the date when we introduced our resolution and the date it was debated in the House convinced the Government that they had to do something if they desired to retain the support of those whom they considered their temperance supporters. The introduction of our resolution has done this. It has forced the Government to recognize and to state that the present legislation controlling the liquor traffic is insufficient, and some advance must be made. (Applause.) That is worth entering public life for, if we have done nothing else. (Great applause.)

CREDIT FOR THE OPPOSITION.

Then I venture to think that the amendments which we secured to the Liquor License Act this last session would not have received all the encomiums they have, and would not have deserved them, if we had not introduced our resolution. Of course, I cannot prove just what goes on in the minds of the men that sit in the seats of power, but I believe our resolution forced their hands on this matter also. I tell you this: That on the day before I introduced our resolution, Mr. Hanna gave notice to the liquor license law. That was on Monday. On Tuesday, after our caucus, I put our motion on the order paper, and on Wednesday I waited with great interest to see what the amendments to the Liquor License Act would be, but no bill came down; I waited until Thursday, and no bill came down; I waited until Friday, and no bill came down; I waited until Monday, no bill came down; I waited until Tuesday, and no bill came down. On Wednesday we had our discussion. The Government's hands had been forced to the extent of introducing the anti-treating legislation, and on the following day

they brought down the amendments to the liquor license law, which were very satisfactory in many respects. You must draw your own conclusions with reference to this matter.

THE MAIL CONVERTED.

Then, further, I look upon the conversion of the Mail and Empire to the partial advocacy of our cause of abolishing the bar as one of the greatest results achieved by us. (Applause.) If I could only believe the Free Press was entirely in line, my joy in that respect would be complete.

I am quite sure of this, ladies and gentlemen, that the Mail and Empire would not give the qualified support it is now giving to the policy abolishing the bar, if it would not say that Sir James Whitney would abolish it, when public sentiment was ripe, if it did not believe it was a good thing. Therefore, I am very hopeful. Sir James had told us that he conferred with one or two wholesale and retail dealers in ardent spirits, and they approved of his anti-treating legislation. It is a good thing to know that your supporters approve of the legislation before you introduce it.

LIKE ARTEMUS WARD.

But judging by what the Mail and Empire says, I am convinced that Sir James will be at least equal to Artemus Ward. You remember that he was asked if he would enlist in the army. He replied, "No," but he was quite willing that all his wife's able-bodied relations should; he was willing to sacrifice them, and if you can only convince the Government that public sentiment demands the abolition of the bar, and they have to choose between the bar or office, they will sacrifice their wife's relations, and choose office. So now, my Conservative friends, if you want to see the bar wiped out, how are you going to do it? By supporting us so strongly that you convince the Government that they are going out of office next election unless they abolish the bar. You believe in the abolition of the bar just as strongly as your Liberal temperance friends do. You have appealed to your leaders in the Government to move ahead. The temperance organizations have petitioned them to move ahead. Churches have urged them to move ahead. We have appealed to them to move ahead, and yet the first real move they have made to curtail the liquor traffic by legislation was when we forced their hands by introducing this resolution. (Applause.)

THE BAR IS DOOMED.

We will do more than all your appeals. Once they are convinced the country is back of us. I think they are likely to

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choose the abolition of the bar rather than go out of office, but if they do not they will go out of office with the bar. (Great applause.)

There are a great many of my Conservative friends here whom I am sure will say "Amen" to that sentiment. That is not all we have accomplished. When they had this amendment to the local option law before the House, I moved a further motion to insert a provision that wherever local option law carried all club licenses should go out with the bar and shop licenses. That was another awkward position for the Government to be in, but still we accomplished something. They moved an amendment to this effect: "This House approves the policy pursued by the Government in discouraging the issue of club and wholesale licenses in local option districts and accepts with satisfaction the assurance that this policy will be continued." We have at last got the Government, by vote of the House, to say that the issue of club and wholesale licenses in local option districts will be discouraged. They are moving some. Next year we hope to get the whole thing.

I have outlined to you our temperance policy. I have submitted to you proposals which I am sure you believe are in the public interests. Our policy is in the interests of the working-man, it is in the interests of the manufacturer, it is in the interests of the merchant, it is in the interests of the farmer; above all, it is in the interests of the home, of the wife and of the children.

I want to appeal to the men present this afternoon and ask what was it that thrilled humanity in that mighty sea disaster—the sinking of the Titanic? It was the chivalry of the men in high positions as well as in low positions, who said, "Stand aside; women and children first." (Applause). And in this great war for the abolition of the bar, I say to the men, whatever may be your attitude personally on this question, let us follow the example of the men on the Titanic and say, "We stand aside; women and children first." For the sake of the home and the wife and the children, we unite in this holy crusade for the abolition of the bar.

NOT MOVING FAST.

A word to my Liberal friends. I am quite aware that there are a few of our Liberal friends who feel that we have moved a little too rapidly in the Legislature on this matter. I am quite aware that there are a few who think we have moved in advance of public opinion. I wish to draw the attention of these friends to this fact, that the traditional policy of the Liberal

party in this Province has been to promote temperance reform. I go back to the days of that great tribune of the people, George Brown. In the very first issue of the Daily Globe, away back on the first of October, 1853—the Globe had been issued previously as a weekly or tri-weekly—it then came out as a daily paper—George Brown set forth his policy, and one of the main planks was the prohibition of the liquor traffic. It is true that proposal was in advance of the times.

It is true that great constitutional issues arose which absorbed public thought and this issue fell into the background for the time being, but I want to draw your attention to this further fact, and now I am speaking particularly to my Liberal friends, that in the year 1894, when the Government of Sir Oliver Mowat was in power, when the question of the legislative power of the Province was being determined, Sir Oliver made this statement to the deputation interested in temperance reform which waited upon him: "If the decision of the Privy Council should be that the Province has the jurisdiction to pass a prohibitive liquor law as to sale, I will introduce such a bill in the following session, if I am then at the head of the Government. If the decision of the Privy Council is that the Province has jurisdiction to pass only a partial prohibitive liquor law, I will introduce such a prohibitive bill as the decision will warrant, unless the partial prohibitive power is so limited as to be ineffective from a temperance standpoint."

We are promising to do no more than Sir Oliver Mowat promised eighteen years ago, and I want to express my confident belief to-day, that had Sir Oliver Mowat continued Premier he would have fulfilled that pledge and introduced the law, and if you would have followed Sir Oliver Mowat in advanced temperance legislation, I ask you to follow me to-day and my colleagues in the House in placing this important resolution on the statute books. (Applause.)

AN EXPLANATION.

I have been asked the question, "Why do you hold a series of public meetings throughout the Province to discuss political issues three years before an election; what is the explanation of this unusual proceeding?"

1. We believe that public life in this Province offers something vastly more important and inspiring than a scramble for office by the leaders of the political parties. It involves the application in legislation and administration of most important principles, vitally affecting the welfare of every citizen of the Province; (cheers) and the electors are entitled to receive at the hands of the public men of the Province the fullest possible

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information in reference to these matters of public concern, not in the heat of an election contest, when political prejudice tends to bias our judgment, but at a time when we can bring to bear a more unprejudiced mind upon the matters presented to us.

2. We believe that Liberalism stands for principles essential to the highest welfare of the people of the Province; that the more fully these principles are explained and expounded, the more certain they are to win the confidence and support of the people.

FOR THE PUBLIC GOOD.

3. We believe that the practical application of these principles, as embodied in the policies which I have referred to this afternoon, are so manifestly for the public good, that it only requires a fair and clear presentation of these policies to insure that the electors will rally to their support.

A GREAT OPPORTUNITY.

This Province is confronted with a unique and commanding opportunity. Her geographical position, the extent, variety and richness of her natural resources, the strength of her commercial and financial institutions, and her people all insure for her, if we but worthily play our part, a commanding position in the commercial and industrial life of our growing Dominion. But this is not Ontario's greatest opportunity. The strength and stability of our religious and educational institutions, the moral earnestness and zeal for social reform possessed by so many of our people, make it possible for us to lead the Provinces of Canada in the value and extent of our contribution to civilized life.

PREPARED TO LEAD.

Ladies and gentlemen, I end where I began. The first article of our programme is abolish the bar. It was your cause in the past. It was your cause when I fought with you in the ranks. It was our cause when we fought together. It is no less your cause to-day. Having called me into this position of leadership, I am prepared to lead. (Applause). I care not for the opposition of the bar. I care not for the opposition of the moneyed interests back of the bar. I care not for all the wealth and power they command. I care not for the opposition of our opponents if they ally themselves with the bar. But you, good men and women too, who love what is right, who love our country with devotion, I will lead if you will follow, and together we will forever wipe out the open bar in the Province of Ontario.

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